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1817

THE LIFE

OF

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

THE

LIVES

OF

I. JOHN DONNE, SIR HENRY WOTTON,

MR. RICHARD HOOKER,

MR. GEORGE HERBERT,

AND

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

WRITTEN BY IZAAK WALTON.

"Thefe were honoured men in their generations."
Ecclus. xliv. 7.

A NEW EDITION.

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DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

IN a late retreat from the buſineſs of this world, and thoſe many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myſelf, I fell into a contemplation of ſome of thoſe hiſtorical paſſages that are recorded in ſacred ſtory; and more particularly of what had paſſed betwixt our bleſſed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and ſinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, becauſe I did not then, nor do now conſider her, as when ſhe was poſſeſt with ſeven devils; not as when her wanton eyes, and diſhevelled hair, were deſigned and managed to charm and enſnare amorous beholders. But I did then, and do now conſider her, as after ſhe had expreſſed a viſible and ſacred ſorrow for her ſenſualities; as after thoſe eyes had wept ſuch a flood of penitential tears as did waſh, and that hair had wiped, and ſhe moſt paſſion-

ately kiſſed the feet of hers, and ou bleſſed Jeſus. And I do now conſide that becauſe ſhe loved much, not onl much was forgiven her; but that, befid that bleſſed bleſſing of having her ſin pardoned, and the joy of knowing her hap py condition, ſhe alſo had from him a teſti mony, that her alabaſter box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, an that ſpikenard, and thoſe ſpices that wer by her dedicated to embalm and preſerv his ſacred body from putrefaction, ſhoul ſo far preſerve her own memory, that thei demonſtrations of her ſanctified love, an of her officious and generous gratitude ſhould be recorded and mentioned where ſoever his goſpel ſhould be read; intend ing thereby, that as his, ſo her nam ſhould alſo live to ſucceeding generations even till time itſelf ſhall be no more.

Upon occaſion of which fair example I did lately look back, and not withou ſome content, (at leaſt to myſelf,) that have endeavoured to deſerve the love, an preſerve the memory, of my two deceaſe friends, Dr. Donne, and Sir Henry Wot ton

ton, by declaring the ſeveral employments and various accidents of their lives. And though Mr. George Herbert (whoſe Life I now intend to write) were to me a ſtranger as to his perſon, for I have only ſeen him; yet ſince he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to thoſe that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to ſee this conjunction of them after their deaths; without which, many things that concerned them, and ſome things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be leſs perfect, and loſt to poſterity.

For theſe reaſons I have undertaken it; and if I have prevented any abler perſon, I beg pardon of him and my reader.

THE LIFE.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that caſtle that did then bear the name of that town and county: that caſtle was then a place of ſtate and ſtrength, and had been ſucceſſively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long poſſeſſed it; and, with it, a plentiful eſtate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours: a family, that hath been bleſt with men of remarkable wiſdom, and a willingneſs to ſerve their country, and, indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent. But alas! this family did in the late rebellion ſuffer extremely in their eſtates; and the heirs of that caſtle ſaw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury thoſe wretches that were the cauſe of it.

The father of our George was Richar Herbert, the ſon of Edward Herbert, Knt the ſon of Richard Herbert, Knt. the ſon o the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Cole brook, in the county of Monmouth, Ban neret, who was the youngeſt brother o that memorable William Herbert, Earl o Pembroke, that lived in the reign of ou King Edward IV.

His mother was Magdalen Newport the youngeſt daughter of Sir Richard, an ſiſter to Sir Francis Newport, of Higl Arkall, in the county of Salop, Knt. an grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, nov Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſehold a family, that for their loyalty have ſuf fered much in their eſtates, and ſeen th ruin of that excellent ſtructure, where thei anceſtors have long lived, and been memo rable for their hoſpitality.

This mother of George Herbert (o whoſe perſon, and wiſdom, and virtue, intend to give a true account in a ſeaſon able place) was the happy mother of ſeve ſons, and three daughters, which ſhe woul often ſay was *Job's number*, and *Job's di tribution*

tribution; and as often bleſs God, that they were neither defective in their ſhapes, or in their reaſon; and very often reprove them that did not praiſe God for ſo great a bleſſing. I ſhall give the reader a ſhort account of their names, and not ſay much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldeſt, was firſt made Knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being inſtalled Knight of the Garter; and after many years uſeful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James ſent ambaſſador reſident to the then French King, Lewis XIII. There he continued about two years; but he could not ſubject himſelf to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at Court: ſo that, upon a complaint to our King, he was called back into England in ſome diſpleaſure; but at his return he gave ſuch an honourable account of his employment, and ſo juſtified his comportment to the Duke, and all the Court, that he was ſuddenly ſent back upon the ſame embaſſy, from which he re-

returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I. who made him firſt Baron of Caſtle-Iſland, and not long after of Cherbury in the county of Salop. He was a man of great learning and reaſon, as appears by his printed book De Veritate, and by his Hiſtory of the Reign of King Henry VIII. and by ſeveral other tracts.

The ſecond and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventured their lives to purchaſe honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry was the ſixth, who became a menial ſervant to the Crown in the days of King James, and hath continued to be ſo for fifty years; during all which time he hath been Maſter of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wiſdom, with which God hath bleſſed him. The ſeventh ſon was Thomas, who, being made captain of a ſhip in that fleet with which Sir Robert Manſell was ſent againſt Algiers, did there ſhew a fortunate and true Engliſh valour. Of the three ſiſters I need not

not ſay more, than that they were all married to perſons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of thoſe ſeven brothers.

George Herbert ſpent much of his childhood in a ſweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain, or tutor to him and two of his brothers, in her own family, (for ſhe was then a widow,) where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well inſtructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then Dean of Weſtminſter; and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief maſter of that ſchool; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit ſhined and became ſo eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he ſeemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and

and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that ſchool, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and eſpecially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a king's ſcholar) he was elected out of that ſchool for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was tranſplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother well knowing that he might eaſily loſe or leſſen that virtue and innocence which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, who was then Dean of Canterbury, and Maſter of that college, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did moſt gladly undertake, for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value ſuch a friendſhip.

This was the method of his education till he was ſettled in Cambridge; where we will leave him in his ſtudy, till I have paid my promiſed account of his excellent mother

ther; and I will endeavour to make it ſhort.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given ſome ſhort account of them. I ſhall next tell the reader, that her huſband died when our George was about the age of four years: I am next to tell, that ſhe continued twelve years a widow; that ſhe then married happily to a noble gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her perſon and the moſt excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, ſhe being deſirous to give Edward, her eldeſt ſon, ſuch advantages of learning, and other education, as might ſuit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the ſervice of his country, did, at his being of a fit age, remove from Montgomery Caſtle with him, and ſome of her younger ſons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, ſhe commended him to his care: yet ſhe continued there with

with him, and ſtill kept him in a moderate awe of herſelf, and ſo much under her own eye, as to ſee and converſe with him daily: but ſhe managed this power over him without any ſuch rigid ſourneſs, as might make her company a torment to her child; but with ſuch a ſweetneſs and compliance with the recreations and pleaſures of youth, as did incline him willingly to ſpend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother; which was to her great content: for ſhe would often ſay, "That as our bodies take "a nouriſhment ſuitable to the meat on "which we feed; ſo our ſouls do as inſen- "ſibly take in vice by the example or con- "verſation with wicked company:" and would therefore as often ſay, "That igno- "rance of vice was the beſt preſervation "of virtue; and that the very knowledge "of wickedneſs was as tinder to inflame "and kindle ſin, and to keep it burning." For theſe reaſons ſhe endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years; in which time her great and harmleſs wit, her cheerful gravity,

vity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendſhip with moſt of any eminent worth or learning, that were at that time in or near that Univerſity; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne, who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul's, London: and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, in verſe, a character of the beauties of her body and mind: of the firſt he ſays,

> No ſpring nor ſummer beauty has ſuch grace,
> As I have ſeen in an autumnal face.

Of the latter he ſays,

> In all her words to every hearer fit,
> You may at revels, or at council ſit.

The reſt of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that Elegy which bears the name of *The Autumnal Beauty*. For both he and ſhe were then paſt the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their ſouls; but

but an amity made up of a chain of ſuitable inclinations and virtues; an amity like that of St. Chryſoſtom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias; whom, in his letters, he calls his Saint: or an amity, indeed, more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whoſe affection to her was ſuch, that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph; "wiſhing all "his body were turned into tongues, that "he might declare her juſt praiſes to poſ-"terity." And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age, (which was ſome years before he entered into ſacred orders;) a time, when his neceſſities needed a daily ſupply for the ſupport of his wife, ſeven children, and a family. And in this time ſhe proved one of his moſt bountiful benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one teſtimony for what I have ſaid of theſe two worthy perſons, from this following letter and ſonnet.

"MADAM,

" MADAM,

" Your favours to me are every where; " I uſe them, and have them. I enjoy " them at London, and leave them there; " and yet find them at Micham. Such " riddles as theſe become things inexpreſ- " ſible; and ſuch is your goodneſs. I " was almoſt ſorry to find your ſervant " here this day, becauſe I was loth to " have any witneſs of my not coming " home laſt night, and indeed of my com- " ing this morning. But my not coming " was excuſable, becauſe earneſt buſineſs " detained me; and my coming this day " is by the example of your St. Mary " Magdalen, who roſe early upon Sunday, " to ſeek that which ſhe loved moſt; and " ſo did I. And, from her and myſelf, I " return ſuch thanks as are due to one, to " whom we owe all the good opinion, that " they, whom we need moſt, have of us. " By this meſſenger, and on this good day, " I commit the incloſed holy hymns and " ſonnets (which for the matter, not the " workmanſhip, have yet eſcaped the fire) " to your judgment, and to your protec-

" tion too, if you think them worthy of " it; and I have appointed this incloſed " ſonnet to uſher them to your happy " hand.

" Your unworthieſt ſervant,
" Unleſs your accepting him to be ſo
" have mended him,
" JO. DONNE."

MICHAM,
July 11, 1607.

To the Lady MAGDALEN HERBERT, *of St. Mary Magdalen.*

HER of your name, whoſe fair inheritance
Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo,
An active faith ſo highly did advance,
That ſhe once knew more than the Church did know,
The Reſurrection; ſo much good there is
Deliver'd of her, that ſome Fathers be
Loth to believe one woman could do this;
But think theſe Magdalens were two or three.
Increaſe their number, Lady, and their fame:
To their devotion add your innocence:
Take ſo much of th' example, as of the name;
The latter half; and in ſome recompenſe
That they did harbour Chriſt himſelf a gueſt,
Harbour theſe hymns, to his dear name addreſt.

J. D.

Theſe

. Theſe hymns are now loſt to us; but doubtleſs they were ſuch, as they two now ſing in heaven.

There might be more demonſtrations of the friendſhip, and the many ſacred endearments betwixt theſe two excellent perſons, (for I have many of their letters in my hand,) and much more might be ſaid of her great prudence and piety: but my deſign was not to write hers, but the life of her ſon; and therefore I ſhall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and ſent her, I ſaw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral ſermon, in the pariſh-church of Chelſea, near London, where ſhe now reſts in her quiet grave; and where we muſt now leave her, and return to her ſon George, whom we left in his ſtudy in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be ſuch, that we may conclude, he conſecrated the firſt-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a ſerious ſtudy of learning. And that he

did ſo, this following letter and ſonne which were, in the firſt year of his goin to Cambridge, ſent his dear mother for new-year's gift, may appear to be ſom teſtimony.

—"But I fear the heat of my late agu "hath dried up thoſe ſprings, by whic "ſcholars ſay the Muſes uſe to take u "their habitations. However, I need nc "their help to reprove the vanity of thoſ "many love-poems, that are daily wri "and conſecrated to Venus; nor to be "wail that ſo few are writ, that look to "wards God and heaven. For my ow "part, my meaning (dear mother) i "in theſe ſonnets, to declare my reſo "lution to be, that my poor abilities i "poetry ſhall be all and ever conſecrate "to God's glory; and I beg you to re "ceive this as one teſtimony."

My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
Wherewith whole ſhoals of martyrs once did burn,
Beſides their other flames? Doth Poetry
Wear Venus' livery? only ſerve her turn?
Why are not ſonnets made of thee? and lays
Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love

Hei

Heighten a ſpirit to ſound out thy praiſe
As well as any ſhe? Cannot thy Dove
Out-ſtrip their Cupid eaſily in flight?
Or, ſince thy ways are deep, and ſtill the ſame,
Will not a verſe run ſmooth that bears thy name?
Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
Each breaſt does feel, no braver fuel chooſe
Than that, which one day worms may chance refuſe?
Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry
Oceans of ink; for, as the deluge did
Cover the earth, ſo doth thy Majeſty:
Each cloud diſtils thy praiſe, and doth forbid
Poets to turn it to another uſe.
Roſes and lilies ſpeak thee; and to make
A pair of cheeks of them, is thy abuſe.
Why ſhould I women's eyes for cryſtal take?
Such poor invention burns in their low mind
Whoſe fire is wild, and doth not upward go
To praiſe, and on thee, Lord, ſome ink beſtow.
Open the bones, and you ſhall nothing find
In the beſt face but filth; when, Lord, in thee
The beauty lies, in the diſcovery.

G. H.

This was his reſolution at the ſending this letter to his dear mother; about which time he was in the ſeventeenth year of his age; and as he grew older, ſo he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man: inſomuch that, in this morning of that ſhort day of his

life, he ſeemed to be marked out for virtue, and to become the care of Heaven; for God ſtill kept his ſoul in ſo holy a frame, that he may and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all poſterity, and eſpecially to his brethren of the Clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a ſtrict ſtudent, becauſe, that he was ſo, there will be many teſtimonies in the future part of his life. I ſhall therefore only tell, that he was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611; Major Fellow of the college, March 15, 1615: and, that in that year he was alſo made Maſter of Arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during all which time, all, or the greateſt diverſion from his ſtudy, was the practice of muſic, in which he became a great maſter; and of which he would ſay, "That it did "relieve his drooping ſpirits, compoſe his "diſtracted thoughts, and raiſed his weary "ſoul ſo far above earth, that it gave him "an earneſt of the joys of heaven, before "he poſſeſſed them." And it may be noted,

noted, that, from his firſt entrance into the college, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cheriſher of his ſtudies, and ſuch a lover of his perſon, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company; by which he confirmed his native gentleneſs: and if during this time he expreſſed any error, it was, that he kept himſelf too much retired, and at too great a diſtance with all his inferiors; and his clothes ſeemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage.

This may be ſome account of his diſpoſition, and of the employment of his time, till he was Maſter of Arts, which was anno 1615, and in the year 1619 he was choſen Orator for the Univerſity. His two precedent Orators were Sir Robert Nanton, and Sir Francis Netherſoll. The firſt was not long after made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis, not very long after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. In this place of Orator our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as be-

coming and grave and a gaiety, as any had ever before or ſince his time. For, "He had acquired great learning, and was "bleſſed with a high fancy, a civil and "ſharp wit, and with a natural elegance, "both in his behaviour, his tongue, and "his pen." Of all which there might be very many particular evidences; but I will limit myſelf to the mention of but three.

And the firſt notable occaſion of ſhewing his fitneſs for this employment of Orator was manifeſted in a letter to King James, upon the occaſion of his ſending that Univerſity his book, called *Baſilicon Doron*; and their Orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his Majeſty for ſuch a condeſcenſion; at the cloſe of which letter he writ,

"Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hoſpes!
"Unicus eſt nobis Bibliotheca Liber."

This letter was writ in ſuch excellent Latin, was ſo full of conceits, and all the expreſſions ſo ſuited to the genius of the King, that he enquired the Orator's name, and then aſked William Earl of Pembroke,

if

if he knew him? whoſe anſwer was, "That he knew him very well, and that "he was his kinſman; but he loved him "more for his learning and virtue, than "for that he was of his name and family. At which anſwer the King ſmiled, and aſked the Earl leave, "that he might love "him too, for he took him to be the jewel "of that Univerſity."

The next occaſion he had and took to ſhew his great abilities, was, with them, to ſhew alſo his great affection to that Church in which he received his baptiſm, and of which he profeſſed himſelf a member; and the occaſion was this: There was one Andrew Melvin, a miniſter of the Scotch Church, and rector of St. Andrew's; who, by a long and conſtant converſe with a diſcontented part of that Clergy which oppoſed epiſcopacy, became at laſt to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be ſo to King James, when he was but King of that nation, who, the ſecond year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the Biſhops, and other learned Divines of his Church,

to

to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with ſome diſſenting brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: of which Scotch party Andrew Melvin was one; and he being a man of learning, and inclined to ſatirical poetry, had ſcattered many malicious, bitter verſes againſt our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church-government; which were by ſome of that party ſo magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Weſtminſter School, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made ſuch anſwers to them, and ſuch reflection on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in ſuch a quarrel.—But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court conference; he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a ſtrange confidence, of ſo furious a zeal, and of ſo ungoverned paſſions, that his inſolence to the King, and others at this conference, loſt him both his rectorſhip of St. Andrew's, and his liberty too: for his former verſes, and his preſent reproaches there uſed againſt

againſt the Church and State, cauſed him to be committed priſoner to the Tower of London; where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella an innocent priſoner there; and he pleaſed himſelf much in ſending, the next day after his commitment, theſe two verſes to the good lady; which I will under-write, becauſe they may give the reader a taſte of his others, which were like theſe.

Cauſa tibi mecum eſt communis, carceris, Ara-
Bella; tibi cauſa eſt, Araque ſacra mihi.

I ſhall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that priſon, or his death; but tell him, Mr. Herbert's verſes were thought ſo worthy to be preſerved, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and cauſed many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cauſe he undertook.

And in order to my third and laſt obſervation of his great abilities, it will be needful

needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royſton, and was almoſt as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies ſuited to his pleaſant humour; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations, and the applauſes of an Orator; which he always performed ſo well, that he ſtill grew more into the King's favour, inſomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majeſty at Royſton; where after a diſcourſe with him, his Majeſty declared to his kinſman, the Earl of Pembroke, "That he found the Orator's "learning and wiſdom much above his "age or wit." The year following, the King appointed to end his progreſs at Cambridge, and to ſtay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great Secretary of Nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon, (Lord Verulam,) and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter, both which did at that time begin a deſired friendſhip with our Orator. Upon whom, the

the firſt put ſuch a value on his judgment, that he uſually deſired his approbation before he would expoſe any of his books to be printed; and thought him ſo worthy of his friendſhip, that having tranſlated many of the Prophet David's Pſalms into Engliſh verſe, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication of them to him, as the beſt judge of divine poetry. And for the learned Biſhop, it is obſervable, that at that time there fell to be a modeſt debate betwixt them two about predeſtination, and ſanctity of life; of both which the Orator did, not long after, ſend the Biſhop ſome ſafe and uſeful aphoriſms, in a long letter, written in Greek; which letter was ſo remarkable for the language and reaſon of it, that, after the reading it, the Biſhop put it into his boſom, and did often ſhew it to many ſcholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he firſt lodged it, and continued it ſo near his heart till the laſt day of his life.

To theſe I might add the long and entire friendſhip betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton,

Wotton, and Dr. Donne; but I have promiſed to contract myſelf, and ſhall therefore only add one teſtimony to what is alſo mentioned in the Life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death he cauſed many ſeals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Chriſt crucified on an anchor, (the emblem of hope,) and of which Dr. Donne would often ſay, "Crux mihi anchora."—Theſe ſeals he gave or ſent to moſt of thoſe friends on which he put a value; and, at Mr. Herbert's death, theſe verſes were found wrapt up with that ſeal, which was by the Doctor given to him:

When my dear friend could write no more,
He gave this ſeal, and ſo gave o'er.

When winds and waves riſe higheſt, I am ſure,
This anchor keeps my faith, *that* me ſecure.

At this time of being Orator, he had learnt to underſtand the Italian, Spaniſh, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his predeceſſors, ſo he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, he being at that time very high in the

the King's favour, and not meanly valued and loved by the moſt eminent and moſt powerful of the Court Nobility. This, and the love of a court-converſation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be ſomething more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge, to attend the King whereſoever the court was, who then gave him a ſinecure, which fell into his Majeſty's diſpoſal, I think, by the death of the Biſhop of St. Aſaph. It was the ſame, that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite, Sir Philip Sidney, and valued to be worth an hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his oratorſhip, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes, and court-like company, and ſeldom looked towards Cambridge, unleſs the King were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his orator's place to his learned friend, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now Prebend of Weſtminſter.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often deſigned to leave the Univerſity, and decline

cline all ſtudy, which he thought did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a conſumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increaſed by his ſtudies; for he would often ſay, "He had too thoughtful a wit; a wit, "like a penknife in too narrow a ſheath, "too ſharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the Univerſity, or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means ſatisfy his own deſires at ſo dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful ſon to ſo affectionate a mother; but did always ſubmit to her wiſdom. And what I have now ſaid may partly appear in a copy of verſes in his printed poems; it is one of thoſe that bear the title of "Affliction;" and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and ſome paſſages of his life, in which he ſays,

Whereas my birth and ſpirit rather took
The way that takes the town;
Thou didſt betray me to a ling'ring book,
And wrap me in a gown.
I was entangled in a world of ſtrife,
Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threaten'd oft the ſiege to raiſe,
Not ſimp'ring all mine age;
Thou often didſt with academic praiſe
Melt and diſſolve my rage:
I took the ſweeten'd pill, till I came where
I could not go away, nor perſevere.

Yet left perchance I ſhould too happy be
In my unhappineſs,
Turning my purge to food, thou throweſt me
Into more ſickneſſes.
Thus doth thy power croſs-bias me, not making
Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
None of my books will ſhow.
I read, and ſigh, and wiſh I were a tree,
For then ſure I ſhould grow
To fruit or ſhade, at leaſt, ſome bird would truſt
Her houſehold with me, and I would be juſt.

Yet though thou troubleſt me, I muſt be meek,
In weakneſs muſt be ſtout.
Well, I will change my ſervice, and go ſeek
Some other maſter out.
Ah, my dear God! though I am clean forgot,
Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

G. H.

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of ſome good occaſion to remove from Cambridge to court, God,

in whom there is an unſeen chain of cauſes, did in a ſhort time put an end to the lives of two of his moſt obliging and moſt powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquis of Hamilton; and not long after him, King James died alſo, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's court-hopes: ſo that he preſently betook himſelf to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was ſuch a lover of ſolitarineſs, as was judged to impair his health, more than his ſtudy had done. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himſelf, whether he ſhould return to the painted pleaſures of a court-life, or betake himſelf to a ſtudy of divinity, and enter into ſacred orders? (to which his dear mother had often perſuaded him.) Theſe were ſuch conflicts, as they only can know, that have endured them; for ambitious deſires, and the outward glory of this world, are not eaſily laid aſide: but at laſt God inclined him to put on a reſolution to ſerve at his altar.

He did, at his return to London, acquaint a court-

a court-friend with his reſolution to enter into ſacred orders, who perſuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly judged that the domeſtic ſervants "of the King of heaven ſhould be of the "nobleſt families on earth. And though "the iniquity of the late times have made "clergymen meanly valued, and the ſacred "name of prieſt contemptible; yet I will "labour to make it honourable, by conſe-"crating all my learning, and all my poor "abilities, to advance the glory of that "God that gave them; knowing that I "can never do too much for him, that "hath done ſo much for me, as to make "me a Chriſtian. And I will labour to be "like my Saviour, by making humility "lovely in the eyes of all men, and by fol-"lowing the merciful and meek example "of my dear Jeſus."

This was then his reſolution; and the God of conſtancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him

in it; for within that year he was made Deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn: but that he was about that time made Deacon, is moſt certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made Prebend of Layton Eccleſia, in the dioceſe of Lincoln, July 15, 1626, and that this prebend was given him by John, then Lord Biſhop of that ſee. And now he had a fit occaſion to ſhew that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable anceſtors, and the occaſion was this.

This Layton Eccleſia is a village near to Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greateſt part of the pariſh-church was fallen down, and that of it which ſtood was ſo decayed, ſo little, and ſo uſeleſs, that the pariſhioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praiſes; and thus it had been for almoſt twenty years, in which time there had been ſome faint endeavours for a public collection, to enable the pariſhioners to rebuild it; but with no ſucceſs, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he, by his own

and

and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it; and made it ſo much his whole buſineſs, that he became reſtleſs till he ſaw it finiſhed as it now ſtands; being, for the workmanſhip, a coſtly Moſaic; for the form, an exact croſs; and for the decency and beauty, I am aſſured, it is the moſt remarkable pariſh-church that this nation affords. He lived to ſee it ſo wainſcotted, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the reading-pew and pulpit were a little diſtant from each other, and both of an equal height; for he would often ſay, "They "ſhould neither have a precedency or "priority of the other; but that prayer "and preaching, being equally uſeful, "might agree like brethren, and have an "equal honour and eſtimation."

Before I proceed farther, I muſt look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made Prebend, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and

charge that he was like to draw upon himſelf, his relations, and friends, before it could be finiſhed, ſent for him from London to Chelſea, (where ſhe then dwelt,) and, at his coming, ſaid, "George, I ſent "for you, to perſuade you to commit Si-"mony, by giving your patron as good a "gift as he has given to you; namely, "that you give him back his prebend; "for, George, it is not for your weak "body, and empty purſe, to undertake to "build churches." Of which he deſired he might have a day's time to conſider, and then make her an anſwer. And at his return to her the next day, when he had firſt deſired her bleſſing, and ſhe given it him, his next requeſt was, "That ſhe would at "the age of thirty-three years allow him "to become an undutiful ſon; for he had "made a vow to God, that, if he were able, "he would rebuild that church." And then ſhewed her ſuch reaſons for his reſolution, that ſhe preſently ſubſcribed to be one of his benefactors; and undertook to ſolicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who ſubſcribed for fifty pounds;

pounds; and not long after, by a witty and perſuaſive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of ſome of his benefactors, James Duke of Lenox, and his brother, Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as alſo the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer, and Mr. Arthur Woodnot; the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldſmith in Foſter-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten; for the memory of ſuch men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer I ſhall hereafter give an account in a more ſeaſonable place; but, before I proceed farther, I will give this ſhort account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot.

He was a man, that had conſidered overgrown eſtates do often require more care and watchfulneſs to preſerve than get them, and conſidered that there be many diſcontents, that riches cure not; and did therefore ſet limits to himſelf, as to deſire of wealth. And having attained ſo much as to be able to ſhew ſome mercy to the poor, and preſerve a competence for him-

ſelf, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the ſervice of God, and to be uſeful for his friends; and he proved to be ſo to Mr. Herbert; for, beſide his own bounty, he collected and returned moſt of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to ſtate them, and ſee all the workmen paid. When I have ſaid, that this good man was a uſeful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be ſo to him, till he cloſed his eyes on his death-bed; I will forbear to ſay more, till I have the next fair occaſion to mention the holy friendſhip that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a ſickneſs, which was not long before that which proved to be her laſt.

A Let-

A Letter of Mr. GEORGE HERBERT *to his Mother, in her ſickneſs.*

" MADAM,

" At my laſt parting from you, I was " the better content becauſe I was in hope " I ſhould myſelf carry all ſickneſs out of " your family: but ſince I know I did not, " and that your ſhare continues, or rather " increaſeth, I wiſh earneſtly that I were " again with you; and would quickly make " good my wiſh, but that my employment " does fix me here, it being now but a " month to our Commencement: wherein " my abſence, by how much it naturally " augmenteth ſuſpicion, by ſo much ſhall it " make my prayers the more conſtant and " the more earneſt for you to the God of " all conſolation. In the mean time, I " beſeech you to be cheerful, and comfort " yourſelf in the God of all comfort, who " is not willing to behold any ſorrow but " for ſin.—What hath affliction grievous " in it, more than for a moment? or why " ſhould our afflictions here have ſo much " power or boldneſs as to oppoſe the hope

" of

" of our joys hereafter?—Madam, as t
" earth is but a point in reſpect of t
" heavens, ſo are earthly troubles compar
" to heavenly joys: therefore, if eith
" age or ſickneſs lead you to thoſe joy
" conſider what advantage you have ov
" youth and health, who are now ſo ne
" thoſe true comforts.—Your laſt lett
" gave me earthly preferment, and I ho
" kept heavenly for yourſelf; but wou
" you divide and chooſe too? Our colle
" cuſtoms allow not that; and I ſhould a
" count myſelf moſt happy, if I mig
" change with you; for I have always ol
" ſerved the thread of life to be like oth
" threads or ſkeins of ſilk, full of ſnarl
" and encumbrances. Happy is he, who
" bottom is wound up, and laid ready f
" work in the New Jeruſalem.—For my
" ſelf, dear mother, I always feared ſickne
" more than death, becauſe ſickneſs ha
" made me unable to perform thoſe offic
" for which I came into the world, an
" muſt yet be kept in it; but you a
" freed from that fear, who have alread
" abundantly diſcharged that part, havin
" both ordered your family, and

" brough

" brought up your children, that they
" have attained to the years of diſcretion,
" and competent maintenance. So that
" now, if they do not well, the fault can-
" not be charged on you, whoſe example
" and care of them will juſtify you both
" to the world and your own conſcience;
" inſomuch that, whether you turn your
" thoughts on the life paſt, or on the joys
" that are to come, you have ſtrong pre-
" ſervatives againſt all diſquiet. And for
" temporal afflictions, I beſeech you con-
" ſider, all that can happen to you are
" either afflictions of eſtate, or body, or
" mind. For thoſe of eſtate, of what
" poor regard ought they to be! ſince, if
" we had riches, we are commanded to
" give them away: ſo that the beſt uſe
" of them is, having, not to have them.
" But perhaps, being above the common
" people, our credit and eſtimation calls
" on us to live in a more ſplendid faſhion:
" but, O God! how eaſily is that anſwered,
" when we conſider that the bleſſings in
" the holy Scripture are never given to
" the rich, but to the poor. I never find

" Bleſſed

" ' Bleſſed be the rich,' or ' Bleſſed be the
" noble;' but, *Bleſſed be the meek*, and,
" *Bleſſed be the poor*, and, *Bleſſed be the*
" *mourners, for they ſhall be comforted.*—
" And yet, O God! moſt carry them-
" ſelves ſo, as if they not only not deſired,
" but even feared to be bleſſed.—And for
" afflictions of the body, dear madam, re-
" member the holy martyrs of God, how
" they have been burnt by thouſands, and
" have endured ſuch other tortures, as the
" very mention of them might beget
" amazement: but their fiery trials have
" had an end; and yours (which, praiſed
" be God, are leſs) are not like to conti-
" nue long. I beſeech you, let ſuch thoughts
" as theſe moderate your preſent fear and
" ſorrow; and know, that if any of yours
" ſhould prove a Goliah-like trouble, yet
" you may ſay with David, *That God, who*
" *hath delivered me out of the paws of th*
" *lion and bear, will alſo deliver me out o*
" *the hands of this uncircumciſed Philiſtin*
" —Laſtly, for thoſe afflictions of the ſou
" conſider that God intends that to be
" a ſacred temple for himſelf to dwell

" *e*

" and will not allow any room there for " ſuch an inmate as grief; or allow that " any ſadneſs ſhall be his competitor.— " And, above all, if any care of future " things moleſt you, remember thoſe admi- " rable words of the Pſalmiſt: *Caſt thy care " on the Lord, and he ſhall nouriſh thee*[a]. " To which join that of St. Peter, *Caſting " all your care on the Lord, for he careth " for you*[b]. What an admirable thing is " this, that God puts his ſhoulder to our " burden, and entertains our care for us, " that we may the more quietly intend his " ſervice!—To conclude, let me commend " only one place more to you: Philip. iv. " 4. St. Paul ſaith there, *Rejoice in the Lord " always: and again I ſay, rejoice.* He dou- " bles it to take away the ſcruple of thoſe " that might ſay, What, ſhall we rejoice " in afflictions? Yes, I ſay again, rejoice; " ſo that it is not left to us to rejoice, or " not rejoice; but, whatſoever befals us, we " muſt always, at all times, rejoice in the " Lord, who taketh care for us. And it " follows in the next verſes: *Let your mo-*

[a] Pſal. lv. [b] 1 Pet. v. 7.

" *deration*

" *deration appear to all men: The Lord is* " *at hand: Be careful for nothing.* What " can be ſaid more comfortably? Trouble " not yourſelves; God is at hand, to deliver " us from all, or in all.—Dear madam, " pardon my boldneſs, and accept the " good meaning of

" Your moſt obedient ſon,

TRIN. COLL. May 25, 1622. " GEORGE HERBERT."

About the year 1629, and the thirty-fourth of his age, Mr. Herbert was ſeized with a ſharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Eſſex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother, Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his houſe he remained about twelve months, and there became his own phyſician, and cured himſelf of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unleſs they were ſalted; and by ſuch a conſtant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worſe; for he

he brought upon himſelf a diſpoſition to rheums, and other weakneſſes, and a ſuppoſed conſumption. And it is to be noted, that in the ſharpeſt of his extreme fits he would often ſay, "Lord, abate my great "affliction, or increaſe my patience: but "Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, "before thee, becauſe thou doeſt it." By which, and a ſanctified ſubmiſſion to the will of God, he ſhewed he was inclinable to bear the ſweet yoke of Chriſtian diſcipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true teſtimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his conſumtipon by a change from Woodford into ſuch an air as was moſt proper to that end. And his remove was to Dantſey in Wiltſhire, a noble houſe, which ſtands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert ſo very much, that he allowed him ſuch an apartment in it, as might beſt ſuit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a ſpare diet, declining all perplexing ſtudies, mo-

moderate exerciſe, and a cheerful converſation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of ſtrength and cheerfulneſs. And then he declared his reſolution both to marry, and to enter into the ſacred orders of prieſthood. Theſe had long been the deſires of his mother, and his other relations; but ſhe lived not to ſee either, for ſhe died in the year 1627. And though he was diſobedient to her about Layton church, yet, in conformity to her will, he kept his Orator's place till after her death, and then preſently declined it; and the more willingly, that he might be ſucceeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton, and the worthy Biſhop of Wells.

I ſhall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which, it will be convenient that I firſt give the reader a ſhort view of his perſon, and then an account of his wife, and of ſome circumſtances concerning both.

He was for his perſon of a ſtature inclining towards tallneſs; his body was very ſtrait, and ſo far from being cumbered with

with too much fleſh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aſpect was cheerful, and his ſpeech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all ſo meek and obliging, that they purchaſed love and reſpect from all that knew him.

Theſe, and his other viſible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman of a noble fortune, and a near kinſman to his friend the Earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, Eſq. This Mr. Danvers having known him long, and familiarly, did ſo much affect him, that he often and publicly declared a deſire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters, (for he had ſo many,) but rather his daughter Jane than any other, becauſe Jane was his beloved daughter. And he had often ſaid the ſame to Mr. Herbert himſelf; and that if he could like her for a wife, and ſhe him for a huſband, Jane ſhould have a double bleſſing: and Mr. Danvers had ſo often ſaid the like to Jane, and ſo much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became ſo much a Platonic,

as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unſeen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but, alas! her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dantſey: yet ſome friends to both parties procured their meeting; at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a ſurpriſed city; and love having got ſuch poſſeſſion, governed, and made there ſuch laws and reſolutions, as neither party was able to reſiſt; inſomuch that ſhe changed her name into Herbert the third day after this firſt interview.

This haſte might in others be thought a love-phrenzy, or worſe; but it was not, for they had wooed ſo like princes, as to have ſelect proxies; ſuch as were true friends to both parties, ſuch as well underſtood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and alſo their eſtates, ſo well before this interview, that the ſuddenneſs was juſtifiable by the ſtricteſt rules of prudence; and the more, becauſe it proved ſo happy to both parties; for the eternal lover

lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections, and compliance; indeed, ſo happy, that there never was any oppoſition betwixt them, unleſs it were a conteſt which ſhould moſt incline to a compliance with the other's deſires. And though this begot, and continued in them, ſuch a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by ſuch daily obligingneſs to each other, as ſtill added ſuch new affluences to the former fulneſs of theſe divine ſouls, as was only improvable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then rector of Bemerton in Wiltſhire, was made Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and not long after tranſlated to Wincheſter, and by that means the preſentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke, (who was the undoubted patron of it,) but to the King, by reaſon of Dr. Curle's advancement: but Philip, then Earl of Pembroke, (for William was lately dead,) requeſted the

King to beſtow it upon his kinſman Georg
Herbert; and the King ſaid, "Moſt wil
"lingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth hi
"acceptance;" and the Earl as willingl
and ſuddenly ſent it him, without ſeeking
But though Mr. Herbert had formerly pu
on a reſolution for the clergy; yet, at re
ceiving this preſentation, the apprehenſio
of the laſt great account, that he was t
make for the cure of ſo many ſouls, mad
him faſt and pray often, and conſider fo
not leſs than a month: in which time h
had ſome reſolutions to decline both th
prieſthood, and that living. And in th
time of conſidering, "he endured," as h
would often ſay, "ſuch ſpiritual conflic
"as none can think, but only thoſe th
"have endured them."

In the midſt of theſe conflicts, his
and dear friend, Mr. Arthur Wood
took a journey to ſalute him at Bair
(where he then was with his wife's fr
and relations,) and was joyful to h
eye-witneſs of his health, and happy
riage. And after they had rejoiced
ther ſome few days, they took a j

to Wilton, the famous ſeat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the King, the Earl, and the whole court, were there, or at Saliſbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert preſented his thanks to the Earl, for his preſentation to Bemerton, but had not yet reſolved to accept it, and told him the reaſon why: but that night, the Earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London, and after Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with his kinſman's irreſolution. And the Biſhop did the next day ſo convince Mr. Herbert, that the refuſal of it was a ſin, that a tailor was ſent for to come ſpeedily from Saliſbury to Wilton, to take meaſure, and make him canonical clothes againſt next day; which the tailor did: and Mr. Herbert being ſo habited, went with his preſentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then Biſhop of Saliſbury, and he gave him inſtitution immediately, (for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon ſome years before,) and he was alſo the ſame day (which was April 26, 1630,) inducted into the good, and more pleaſant than healthful, parſon-

age of Bemerton; which is a mile from Saliſbury.

I have now brought him to the parſonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-ſixth year of his age, and muſt ſtop here, and beſpeak the reader to prepare for an almoſt incredible ſtory, of the great ſanctity of the ſhort remainder of his holy life; a life ſo full of charity, humility, and all Chriſtian virtues, that it deſerves the eloquence of St. Chryſoſtom to commend and declare it: a life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times paſt for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confeſs I am not; and am not pleaſed with myſelf that I muſt; and profeſs myſelf amazed, when I conſider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live ſo unlike him now. But it becomes not me to cenſure: my deſign is rather to aſſure the reader, that I have uſed very great diligence to inform myſelf, that I might inform him of the truth of what

what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with ſincerity.

When at his induction he was ſhut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell, (as the law requires him,) he ſtaid ſo much longer than an ordinary time, before he returned to thoſe friends that ſtaid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and ſaw him lie proſtrate on the ground before the altar; at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he ſet ſome rules to himſelf, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the ſame night that he had his induction, he ſaid to Mr. Woodnot, "I now "look back upon my aſpiring thoughts, "and think myſelf more happy than if I "had attained what then I ſo ambitiouſly "thirſted for. And I can now behold the "court with an impartial eye, and ſee "plainly that it is made up of fraud, and "titles, and flattery, and many other ſuch

" empty, imaginary painted pleaſures;
" pleaſures, that are ſo empty, as not to
" ſatisfy when they are enjoyed. But in
" God, and his ſervice, is a fulneſs of all
" joy and pleaſure, and no ſatiety. And
" I will now uſe all my endeavours to
" bring my relations and dependents to a
" love and reliance on him, who never fails
" thoſe that truſt him. But above all, I
" will be ſure to live well, becauſe the vir-
" tuous life of a clergyman is the moſt
" powerful eloquence to perſuade all that
" ſee it to reverence and love, and at leaſt
" to deſire to live like him. And this I
" will do, becauſe I know we live in an
" age that hath more need of good ex-
" amples than precepts. And I beſeech
" that God, who hath honoured me ſo
" much as to call me to ſerve him at his
" altar, that as by his ſpecial grace he
" hath put into my heart theſe good de-
" ſires and reſolutions; ſo he will, by his
" aſſiſting grace, give me ghoſtly ſtrength
" to bring the ſame to good effect. And
" I beſeech him, that my humble and cha-
" ritable life may ſo win upon others, as

" to

"to bring glory to my Jeſus, whom I "have this day taken to be my maſter and "governor; and I am ſo proud of his ſer- "vice, that I will always obſerve, and "obey, and do his will; and always call "him, Jeſus my maſter; and I will always "contemn my birth, or any title or dignity "that can be conferred upon me, when I "ſhall compare them with my title of be- "ing a prieſt, and ſerving at the altar of "Jeſus my maſter."

And that he did ſo, may appear in many parts of his book of Sacred Poems; eſpecially in that which he calls *The Odour*. In which he ſeems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word *Jeſus*, and ſay, that the adding theſe words, *my maſter*, to it, and the often repetition of them, ſeemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to ſerve at God's altar, he ſeems in another place of his poems, (*The Pearl*, Matth. xiii.) to rejoice and ſay— "He knew the ways of learning; knew "what nature does willingly, and what, "when it is forced by fire; knew the

"ways

" ways of honour, and when glory inclines " the ſoul to noble expreſſions; knew the " court; knew the ways of pleaſure, of " love, of wit, of muſic, and upon what " terms he declined all theſe for the ſervice " of his maſter Jeſus;" and then concludes, ſaying,

" That, through theſe labyrinths not my groveling wit,
" But thy ſilk twiſt, let down from heaven to me,
" Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it
" To climb to thee."

The third day after he was made rector of Bemerton, and had changed his ſword and ſilk clothes into a canonical coat, he returned ſo habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton; and immediately after he had ſeen and ſaluted his wife, he ſaid to her—" You are now a miniſter's " wife, and muſt now ſo far forget your " father's houſe, as not to claim a prece- " dence of any of your pariſhioners; for " you are to know, that a prieſt's wife can " challenge no precedence or place, but " that which ſhe purchaſes by her oblig- " ing humility; and I am ſure, places ſo " purchaſed do beſt become them. And " let

me tell you, that I am ſo good a he-
d, as to aſſure you that this is truth."
ſhe was ſo meek a wife, as to aſſure
it was no vexing news to her, and
he ſhould ſee her obſerve it with a
rful willingneſs. And, indeed, her
rced humility, that humility that was
:r ſo original, as to be born with her,
: her ſo happy as to do ſo; and her
ʒ ſo begot her an unfeigned love, and
iceable reſpect from all that converſed
her; and this love followed her in all
s, as inſeparably as ſhadows follow
ances in ſunſhine.

was not many days before he returned
to Bemerton, to view the church,
repair the chancel; and indeed to
ld almoſt three parts of his houſe,
h was fallen down, or decayed, by
n of his predeceſſor's living at a better
nage-houſe; namely, at Minal, fix-
or twenty miles from this place. At
h time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone
:merton, there came to him a poor old
an, with an intent to acquaint him
her neceſſitous condition, as alſo
with

with ſome troubles of her mind: but after ſhe had ſpoke ſome few words to him, ſhe was ſurpriſed with a fear, and that begot a ſhortneſs of breath, ſo that her ſpirits and ſpeech failed her; which he perceiving, did ſo compaſſionate her, and was ſo humble, that he took her by the hand, and ſaid, "Speak, good mother; be not "afraid to ſpeak to me; for I am a man "that will hear you with patience; and "will relieve your neceſſities too, if I be "able: and this I will do willingly; and "therefore, mother, be not afraid to ac- "quaint me with what you deſire." After which comfortable ſpeech, he again took her by the hand, made her ſit down by him, and underſtanding ſhe was of his pariſh, he told her, "He would be ac- "quainted with her, and take her into his "care." And having with patience heard and underſtood her wants, (and it is ſome relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience,) he, like a Chriſtian Clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counſel; but becauſe that coſt him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and

and ſo ſent her home with a cheerful heart, praiſing God, and praying for him. Thus worthy, and (like David's bleſſed man) thus lowly was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes, and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the paſſages betwixt him and the poor woman: with which ſhe was ſo affected, that ſhe went next day to Saliſbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and ſent them as a token of her love to the poor woman: and with them a meſſage, "That ſhe would "ſee and be acquainted with her, when "her houſe was built at Bemerton."

There be many ſuch paſſages both of him and his wife, of which ſome few will be related: but I ſhall firſt tell, that he haſted to get the pariſh-church repaired; then to beautify the chapel, (which ſtands near his houſe,) and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild the greateſt part of the parſonage-houſe, which he did alſo very completely, and at his own charge; and having done this

good

good work, he cauſed theſe verſes to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantle of the chimney in his hall.

TO MY SUCCESSOR.

If thou chance for to find
A new houſe to thy mind,
And built without thy coſt;
Be good to the poor,
As God gives thee ſtore,
And then my labour's not loſt.

We will now, by the reader's favour, ſuppoſe him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have ſeen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned at his own great charge, (which is a real truth;) and having now fixed him there, I ſhall proceed to give an account of the reſt of his behaviour, both to his pariſhioners, and thoſe many other that knew and converſed with him.

Doubtleſs Mr. Herbert had conſidered and given rules to himſelf for his Chriſtian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into holy orders. And it is not unlike, but that he renewed thoſe reſolutions at his proſtration before the holy

tar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton: but as yet he was but a deacon, and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained prieſt, and made capable of adminiſtering both the ſacraments. At which time, the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Hinchman, now Lord Biſhop of London, (who does not mention him but with ſome veneration for his life and excellent learning,) tells me, "He "laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head, and, "alas! within leſs than three years, lent "his ſhoulder to carry his dear friend to "his grave."

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preſerve thoſe holy rules which ſuch a prieſt, as he intended to be, ought to obſerve; and that time might not inſenſibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might ſhew him his variations from this year's reſolutions; he therefore did ſet down his rules, then reſolved upon, in that order as the world now ſees them printed in a little book, called, *The Country Parſon*; in which ſome of his rules are:

The

The Parſon's knowledge.
The Parſon on Sundays.
The Parſon praying.
The Parſon preaching.
The Parſon's charity.
The Parſon comforting the ſick.
The Parſon arguing.
The Parſon condeſcending.
The Parſon in his journey.
The Parſon in his mirth.
The Parſon with his Churchwardens.
The Parſon bleſſing the people.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be ſaid to be a practical comment on theſe, and the other holy rules ſet down in that uſeful book: a book ſo full of plain, prudent, and uſeful rules, that that country parſon, that can ſpare twelvepence, and yet wants it, is ſcarce excuſable; becauſe it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the truſty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oly, who publiſhed it with a moſt conſcientious and excellent preface; from which I have had ſome of thoſe truths, that are related in this Life of Mr. Herbert. The text for his firſt ſermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs,

verbs, and the words were, *Keep thy heart with all diligence.* In which firſt ſermon he gave his pariſhioners many neceſſary, holy, ſafe rules for the diſcharge of a good conſcience, both to God and man; and delivered his ſermon after a moſt florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence: but, at the cloſe of this ſermon, told them, "That ſhould not be his conſtant way of preaching; for ſince Almighty God does not intend to lead men to heaven by hard queſtions, he would not therefore fill their heads with unneceſſary notions; but that, for their ſakes, his language and his expreſſions ſhould be more plain and practical in his future ſermons." And he then made it his humble requeſt, "That they would be conſtant to the afternoon's ſervice, and catechiſing:" and ſhewed them convincing reaſons why he deſired it; and his obliging example and perſuaſions brought them to a willing conformity to his deſires.

The texts for all his future ſermons (which, God knows, were not many) were

conſtantly taken out of the Goſpel for the day; and he did as conſtantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the Goſpel, or to the Epiſtle then read to them; and, that they might pray with underſtanding, he did uſually take occaſion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reaſons of all the other collects and reſponſes in our Church-ſervice; and made it appear to them, that the whole ſervice of the Church was a reaſonable, and therefore an acceptable ſacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with *confeſſion of ourſelves to be vile, miſerable ſinners*; and that we begin ſo, becauſe, till we have confeſſed ourſelves to be ſuch, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need, and pray for: but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for thoſe ſins which we have confeſſed; and hoping, that as the prieſt hath declared our abſolution, ſo by our public confeſſion, and real repentance, we have obtained

that

that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, *to open our lips, that our mouths may ſhew forth his praiſe*; for till then we are neither able nor worthy to praiſe him. But this being ſuppoſed, we are then fit to ſay, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt*; and fit to proceed to a further ſervice of our God, in the collects, and pſalms, and lauds, that follow in the ſervice.

And as to theſe pſalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them why they were ſo often, and ſome of them daily, repeated in our Church-ſervice; namely, the pſalms every month, becauſe they be an hiſtorical and thankful repetition of mercies paſt, and ſuch a compoſition of prayers and praiſes, as ought to be repeated often, and publicly; for *with ſuch ſacrifices God is bonoured and well pleaſed.* This for the pſalms.

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or ſung after the firſt and ſecond leſſons are read to the congregation; he proceeded to inform them, that it was moſt reaſonable, after they have

heard the will and goodneſs of God declared or preached by the prieſt in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a ſeaſonable duty to riſe up, and expreſs their gratitude to Almighty God, for thoſe his mercies to them, and to all mankind; and then to ſay with the bleſſed Virgin, *That their ſouls do magnify the Lord, and that their ſpirits do alſo rejoice in God their Saviour:* and that it was their duty alſo to rejoice with Simeon in his ſong, and ſay with him, *That their eyes have alſo ſeen their ſalvation*; for they have ſeen that ſalvation which was but propheſied till his time: and he then broke out into thoſe expreſſions of joy that he did ſee it; but they live to ſee it daily in the hiſtory of it, and therefore ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their ſacrifices of praiſe to their God, for that particular mercy. A ſervice, which is now the conſtant employment of that bleſſed Virgin, and Simeon, and all thoſe bleſſed Saints that are poſſeſſed of heaven; and where they are at this time interchangeably and conſtantly ſinging, *Holy, holy holy Lord God*; *glory be to God*

on

on high, and on earth peace. And he taught them, that to do this was an acceptable ſervice to God, becauſe the prophet David ſays in his Pſalms, *He that praiſeth the Lord, honoureth him.*

He made them to underſtand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under: namely, from the legal ſacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumciſion, and from the ſtrict obſervation of the Jewiſh Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received ſo many and ſo great bleſſings, by being born ſince the days of our Saviour, it muſt be an acceptable ſacrifice to Almighty God, for them to acknowledge thoſe bleſſings daily, and ſtand up and worſhip, and ſay as Zacharias did, *Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael, for he hath* (in our days) *viſited and redeemed his people; and* (he hath in our days) *remembered, and ſhewed that mercy, which, by the mouth of the prophets, he promiſed to our forefathers; and this he hath done according to his holy covenant made with them.* And he made them

to underſtand that we live to ſee and
joy the benefit of it, in his birth, in
life, his paſſion, his reſurrection, and
cenſion into heaven, where he now
ſenſible of all our temptations and infir
ties; and where he is at this preſent ti
making interceſſion for us, to his and
Father: and therefore they ought daily
expreſs their public gratulations, and
daily with Zacharias, *Bleſſed be the L*
God of Iſrael, that hath thus viſited
thus redeemed his people.—Theſe were ſo
of the reaſons, by which Mr. Herbert
ſtructed his congregation for the uſe of
pſalms and the hymns appointed to
daily ſung or ſaid in the Church-ſervice

He informed them alſo, when the pr
did pray only for the congregation,
not for himſelf; and when they did o
pray for him; as namely, after the rep
tion of the Creed, before he proceeds
pray the Lord's Prayer, or any of the
pointed collects, the prieſt is directed
kneel down, and pray for them, ſayi
The Lord be with you: and when t
pray for him, ſaying, *And with thy ſpi*
and then they join together in the follo

ing collects: and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and he as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God with one heart, and one voice, and in one reverent and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often in every full service of the Church; namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service; and prayed then, not only because it was composed and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them also, that as by the second Commandment we are required not to bow down, or worship an idol, or false god; so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed

them why the Church required the congregation to ſtand up at the repetition of the Creeds; namely, becauſe they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an aſſent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that ſhorter Creed, or Doxology, ſo often repeated daily, they alſo ſtood up to teſtify their belief to be, that *the God that they truſted in was one God, and three perſons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; to whom they and the prieſt gave glory.* And becauſe there had been heretics that had denied ſome of thoſe three perſons to be God; therefore the congregation ſtood up and honoured him, by confeſſing and ſaying, *It was ſo in the beginning, is now ſo, and ſhall ever be ſo world without end.* And all gave their aſſent to this belief, by ſtanding up and ſaying, *Amen.*

He inſtructed them alſo what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of holidays, and the excellent uſe of them; namely, that they were ſet apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God;

God; and (as Reverend Mr. Hooker ſays) to be the land-marks to diſtinguiſh times; for by them we are taught to take notice how time paſſes by us, and that we ought not to let the years paſs without a celebration of praiſe for thoſe mercies which thoſe days give us occaſion to remember; and therefore they were to note that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March; a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the bleſſed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that *ſhe ſhould conceive and bear a ſon, that ſhould be the Redeemer of mankind.* And ſhe did ſo forty weeks after this joyful ſalutation; namely, at our Chriſtmas; a day in which we commemorate his Birth with joy and praiſe; and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate his Circumciſion; namely, in that which we call New-year's day; and that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifeſtation of the unſearchable riches of Jeſus to the Gentiles: and that that day we alſo celebrate the memory of his goodneſs in ſending a ſtar to guide the three Wiſe Men

Men from the Eaſt to Bethlehem, that they might there worſhip, and preſent him with their oblations of gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) inſtructed them, that Jeſus was forty days after his birth preſented by his bleſſed mother in the Temple; namely, on that day which we call "The purification of the bleſſed "Virgin, St. Mary." And he inſtructed them, that by the Lent-faſt we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in faſting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity: and that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his crucifixion; and at Eaſter commemorate his glorious reſurrection. And he taught them, that after Jeſus had manifeſted himſelf to his diſciples to be *that Chriſt that was crucified, dead and buried*; and by his appearing and converſing with his diſciples for the ſpace of forty days after his reſurrection, he then, and not till then, aſcended into heaven in the ſight of thoſe diſciples; namely, on that day which we call the Aſcenſion, or Holy Thurſday. And that

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we then celebrate the performance of the promiſe which he made to his diſciples at or before his aſcenſion; namely, *that though he left them, yet he would ſend them the Holy Ghoſt to be their Comforter*; and that he did ſo on that day which the Church calls Whitſunday.—Thus the Church keeps an hiſtorical and circular commemoration of times, as they paſs by us; of ſuch times as ought to incline us to occaſional praiſes, for the particular bleſſings which we do or might receive by thoſe holy commemorations.

He made them know alſo why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reaſon why the Commandments, and the Epiſtles and Goſpels, were to be read at the Altar, or Communion Table; why the prieſt was to pray the Litany kneeling; and why to pray ſome collects ſtanding: and he gave them many other obſervations, fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention; for I muſt ſet limits to my pen, and not make that a treatiſe, which I intended to be a much ſhorter account than I have made it:

it:—but I have done, when I have told the reader, that he was conſtant in catechiſing every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechiſing was after his ſecond leſſon, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always ſo happy as to have an obedient and a full congregation.

And to this I muſt add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his ſermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of divine ſervice; and of thoſe miniſters that huddled up the church-prayers, without a viſible reverence and affection; namely, ſuch as ſeemed to ſay the Lord's prayer, or a collect, in a breath. But for himſelf, his cuſtom was, to ſtop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to conſider what they had prayed, and to force their deſires affectionately to God, before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his pariſhioners underſtand what they prayed, and why they praiſed and adored their Creator, I hope I ſhall the more

more eaſily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice; which was to appear conſtantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceaſed ſiſter) and his whole family, twice every day at the church-prayers, in the chapel which does almoſt join to his parſonage-houſe. And for the time of his appearing, it was ſtrictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midſt of the congregation. And he would joy to have ſpent that time in that place, where the honour of his maſter Jeſus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he teſtified conſtantly by an humble behaviour, and viſible adoration, he, like Joſhua, brought not only *his own houſehold thus to ſerve the Lord*; but brought moſt of his pariſhioners, and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, conſtantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day; and ſome of the meaner ſort of his pariſh did ſo love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough reſt when Mr. Herbert's Saints-

Saints-bell rung to prayers, that they might alſo offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his moſt holy life was ſuch, that it begot ſuch reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themſelves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert's bleſſing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reaſon and example to perſuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his conſtant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor thoſe prayers that he thought himſelf bound to perform with his family, which always were a ſet form, and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week.—*Thus he made every day's ſanctity a ſtep towards that kingdom, where impurity cannot enter.*

His chiefeſt recreation was muſic, in which heavenly art he was a moſt excellent maſter, and did himſelf compoſe many divine hymns and anthems, which he ſet and ſung to his lute or viol: and though he was a lover of retiredneſs, yet his love

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to muſic was ſuch, that he went uſually twice every week, on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Saliſbury; and at his return would ſay, "That his "time ſpent in prayer, and cathedral-mu- "ſic, elevated his ſoul, and was his heaven "upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would uſually ſing and play his part at an appointed private muſic-meeting; and, to juſtify this practice, he would often ſay, "Religion does not "baniſh mirth, but only moderates and "ſets rules to it."

And as his deſire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Saliſbury, ſo his walks thither were the occaſion of many happy accidents to others; of which I will mention ſome few.

In one of his walks to Saliſbury, he overtook a gentleman, that is ſtill living in that city; and in their walk together, Mr. Herbert took a fair occaſion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excuſed, if he aſked him ſome account of his faith; and ſaid, "I do this the rather, becauſe though "you are not of my pariſh, yet I receive "tithe

" tithe from you by the hand of your te-
" nant; and, Sir, I am the bolder to do it,
" becauſe I know there be ſome ſermon-
" hearers that be like thoſe fiſhes, that al-
" ways live in ſalt water, and yet are always
" freſh."

After which expreſſion, Mr. Herbert aſked him ſome needful queſtions, and having received his anſwer, gave him ſuch rules for the trial of his ſincerity, and for a practical piety, and in ſo loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did ſo fall in love with him, and his diſcourſe, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Saliſbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton; and ſtill mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and ſtill praiſeth God for the occaſion of knowing him.

In another of his Saliſbury walks, he met with a neighbour miniſter; and after ſome friendly diſcourſe betwixt them, and ſome condolement for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the Clergy, Mr. Herbert took occaſion to ſay,

" One cure for theſe diſtempers would
" be,

" be, for the Clergy themſelves to keep the " Ember-weeks ſtrictly, and beg of their " pariſhioners to join with them in faſting " and prayers for a more religious Clergy.

" And another cure would be, for them- " ſelves to reſtore the great and neglected " duty of catechiſing, on which the ſalva- " tion of ſo many of the poor and ignorant " lay-people does depend; but principally, " that the Clergy themſelves would be " ſure to live unblameably; and that the " dignified Clergy eſpecially, which preach " temperance, would avoid ſurfeiting, and " take all occaſions to expreſs a viſible " humility and charity in their lives; for " this would force a love and an imitation, " and an unfeigned reverence from all " that knew them to be ſuch." (And for proof of this, we need no other teſtimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake, late Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells.) " This, ſaid Mr. Herbert, " would be a cure for " the wickedneſs and growing atheiſm of " our age. And, my dear brother, till " this be done by us, and done in earneſt, " let no man expect a reformation of the

" manners of the laity; for it is not learn-
" ing, but this, this only that muſt do it;
" and till then the fault muſt lie at our
" doors."

In another walk to Saliſbury, he ſaw a poor man with a poorer horſe, that was fallen under his load: they were both in diſtreſs, and needed preſent help; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after to load his horſe. The poor man bleſſed him for it, and he bleſſed the poor man; and was ſo like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refreſh both himſelf and his horſe; and told him, " That if he loved himſelf, he
" ſhould be merciful to his beaſt." Thus he left the poor man: and at his coming to his muſical friends at Saliſbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, which uſed to be ſo trim and clean, came into that company ſo ſoiled and diſcompoſed; but he told them the occaſion. And when one of the company told him, " He had
" diſparaged himſelf by ſo dirty an em-
" ployment," his anſwer was, " That the
" thought

"thought of what he had done would "prove muſic to him at midnight; and "that the omiſſion of it would have up-"braided and made diſcord in his conſci-"ence, whenſoever he ſhould paſs by that "place: for if I be bound to pray for all "that be in diſtreſs, I am ſure that I am "bound, ſo far as it is in my power, to "practiſe what I pray for. And though "I do not wiſh for the like occaſion every "day, yet let me tell you, I would not "willingly paſs one day of my life without "comforting a ſad ſoul, or ſhewing mercy; "and I praiſe God for this occaſion. And "now let us tune our inſtruments."

Thus, as our bleſſed Saviour, after his reſurrection, did take occaſion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas, and that other diſciple, which he met with and accompanied in their journey to Emmaus; ſo Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occaſion to inſtruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by ſhewing humility and mercy, and miniſtering grace to the hearers.

And he was moſt happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid conſtantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to diſpoſe that to the poor of his pariſh, and with it a power to diſpoſe a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn: which truſt ſhe did moſt faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her ſtewardſhip, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty; for ſhe rejoiced in the employment: and this was uſually laid out by her in blankets and ſhoes for ſome ſuch poor people, as ſhe knew to ſtand in moſt need of them. This as to her charity.—And for his own, he ſet no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he ſaw in want, but would relieve them; eſpecially his poor neighbours; to the meaneſt of whoſe houſes he would go, and inform himſelf of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully, if they were in diſtreſs; and would always praiſe God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it.

And

And when he was adviſed by a friend to be more frugal, becauſe he might have children, his anſwer was, "He would not "ſee the danger of want ſo far off; but "being the Scripture does ſo commend "charity, as to tell us that charity is the "top of Chriſtian virtues, the covering of "ſins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of "faith; and that charity hath a promiſe "of the bleſſings of this life, and of a "reward in that life which is to come; "being theſe and more excellent things "are in Scripture ſpoken of thee, O Cha-"rity, and that, being all my tithes and "church-dues are a *deodate* from thee, "O my God; make me, O my God, ſo far "to truſt thy promiſe, as to return them "back to thee; and by thy grace I will "do ſo, in diſtributing them to any of thy "poor members that are in diſtreſs, or do "but bear the image of Jeſus my maſter. "Sir," ſaid he to his friend, "my wife hath "a competent maintenance ſecured her "after my death; and therefore, as this is "my prayer, ſo this my reſolution ſhall, by "God's grace, be unalterable."

This may be ſome account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued, till a conſumption ſo weakened him, as to confine him to his houſe, or to the chapel, which does almoſt join to it; in which he continued to read prayers conſtantly twice every day, though he were very weak: in one of which times of his reading, his wife obſerved him to read in pain, and told him ſo, and that it waſted his ſpirits, and weakened him; and he confeſſed it did, but ſaid, "his life "could not be better ſpent, than in the "ſervice of his maſter Jeſus, who had done "and ſuffered ſo much for him. But," ſaid he, "I will not be wilful; for though "my ſpirit be willing, yet I find my fleſh "is weak; and therefore Mr. Boſtock "ſhall be appointed to read prayers for "me to-morrow; and I will now be only "a hearer of them, till this mortal ſhall "put on immortality." And Mr. Boſtock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Boſtock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr.

Herbert's, and then his curate to the church of Fulſton, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of eaſe. And this Mr. Boſtock did alſo conſtantly ſupply the church-ſervice for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the muſic-meeting at Saliſbury cauſed his abſence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer, (for an account of whom I am by promiſe indebted to the reader, and intend to make him ſudden payment,) hearing of Mr. Herbert's ſickneſs, ſent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who is now rector of Friar Barnet in the county of Middleſex) from his houſe of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to ſee Mr. Herbert, and to aſſure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet: but at his ſeeing Mr. Duncon, he raiſed himſelf vigorouſly, ſaluted him, and

with ſome earneſtneſs enquired the health of his brother Farrer; of which Mr. Duncon ſatisfied him: and after ſome diſcourſe of Mr. Farrer's holy life, and the manner of his conſtant ſerving God, he ſaid to Mr. Duncon, "Sir, I ſee by your habit that "you are a prieſt, and I deſire you to pray "with me:" which being granted, Mr. Duncon aſked him, "What prayers?" To which Mr. Herbert's anſwer was, "O, "Sir, the prayers of my mother, the "Church of England: no other prayers "are equal to them. But at this time, I "beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I "am weak and faint:" and Mr. Duncon did ſo. After which, and ſome other diſcourſe of Mr. Farrer, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain ſupper, and a clean lodging, and he betook himſelf to reſt. This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me, that, at his firſt view of Mr. Herbert, he ſaw majeſty and humility ſo reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his perſon; and ſays, "his diſcourſe was ſo pious, and his "mo-

" motion ſo genteel and meek, that after " almoſt forty years, yet they remain ſtill " freſh in his memory."

The next morning Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himſelf to a journey to Bath, but with a promiſe to return back to him within five days; and he did ſo: but before I ſhall ſay any thing of what diſcourſe then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promiſed account of Mr. Farrer.

Mr. Nicholas Farrer (who got the reputation of being called " Saint Nicholas" at the age of ſix years) was born in London, and doubtleſs had good education in his youth; but certainly was at an early age made Fellow of Clare-hall in Cambridge; where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the twenty-ſixth year of his age he betook himſelf to travel; in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages ſpoken in the weſtern parts of our Chriſtian world; and underſtood well the principles of their religion, and of their manner, and the reaſons of their worſhip. In this his travel he met with

with many perſuaſions to come into a communion with that church which calls itſelf Catholic: but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother, the Church of England. In his abſence from England, Mr. Farrer's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Farrer had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an eſtate left him, that enabled him to purchaſe land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a year; the greateſt part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or ſix miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he choſe for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the pariſh-church or chapel belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Farrer having ſeen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert ſays, "a nothing between two diſhes," did ſo contemn it, that he reſolved to ſpend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always

always prepared for death. And his life was ſpent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did moſt of them keep Lent and all Ember-weeks ſtrictly, both in faſting and uſing all thoſe mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then uſed; and he and they did the like conſtantly on Fridays, and on the vigils or eves appointed to be faſted before the Saints' days: and this frugality and abſtinence turned to the relief of the poor: but this was but a part of his charity; none but God and he knew the reſt.

This family, which I have ſaid to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the reſt choſen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their diſpoſitions ſerviceable and quiet, and humble, and free from ſcandal. Having thus fitted himſelf for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himſelf to a conſtant and methodical ſervice of God; and it was in this manner:—He, being accompanied with moſt

moſt of his family, did himſelf uſe to read the common prayers (for he was a Deacon) every day, at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the pariſh-church, which was very near his houſe, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reaſon of a depopulation of the village before Mr. Farrer bought the manor. And he did alſo conſtantly read the matins every morning at the hour of ſix, either in the church, or in an oratory, which was within his own houſe. And many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they ſpent ſome hours in ſinging hymns, or anthems, ſometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they ſometimes betook themſelves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Teſtament to themſelves, or to continue their praying or reading the Pſalms; and in caſe the Pſalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Farrer, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory,

tory, and there betake themſelves to prayers, and lauding God, and reading the Pſalms that had not been read in the day: and when theſe, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, ſometimes before and ſometimes after midnight; and then another part of the family roſe, and maintained the watch, ſometimes by praying, or ſinging lauds to God, or reading the Pſalms: and when after ſome hours they alſo grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were alſo relieved by ſome of the former, or by a new part of the ſociety, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued ſerving of God, the Pſalter, or whole Book of Pſalms, was in every four and twenty hours ſung or read over, from the firſt to the laſt verſe; and this was done as conſtantly as the ſun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the ſame inſtant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Farrer and his happy family ſerve God day and night. Thus did

did they always behave themſelves as in his preſence. And they did always eat and drink by the ſtricteſt rules of temperance; eat and drink ſo as to be ready to riſe at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God. And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the Clergy, that were more inclined to practical piety and devotion, than to doubtful and needleſs diſputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themſelves a part of that happy ſociety, and ſtay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Farrer and the family in theſe devotions, and aſſiſt and eaſe him or them in their watch by night. And theſe various devotions had never leſs than two of the domeſtic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church, or oratory, unleſs in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour, which had a fire in it; and the parlour was fitted for that purpoſe. And this courſe of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Farrer maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr.

Mr. Farrer's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both ſo noted, that the general report of their ſanctity gave them occaſion to renew that ſlight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendſhip was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one teſtimony of their friendſhip and pious deſigns may appear by Mr. Farrer's commending the Conſiderations of John Valdeſſo (a book which he had met with in his travels, and tranſlated out of Spaniſh into Engliſh,) to be examined and cenſured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and return back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it; and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Farrer.

This John Valdeſſo was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles the Fifth, whom Valdeſſo had followed as a cavalier all the time of his

his long and dangerous wars: and when Valdeſſo grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his reſolution was to decline his Majeſty's ſervice, and betake himſelf to a quiet and contemplative life, "becauſe there ought "to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting "and dying." The Emperor had himſelf, for the ſame or other like reaſons, put on the ſame reſolution: but God and himſelf did, till then, only know them; and he did therefore deſire Valdeſſo to conſider well of what he had ſaid, and to keep his purpoſe within his own breaſt, till they two might have a ſecond opportunity of a friendly diſcourſe; which Valdeſſo promiſed to do.

In the mean time the Emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdeſſo to meet again; and, after a pious and free diſcourſe, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the bleſſed ſacrament publicly; and appointed an eloquent and devout friar to preach a ſermon of "contempt of "the world," and of the happineſs and benefit

nefit of a quiet and contemplative life; which the friar did moſt affectionately. After which ſermon, the Emperor took occaſion to declare openly, "That the "preacher had begot in him a reſolution "to lay down his dignities, and to forſake "the world, and betake himſelf to a mo-"naſtical life." And he pretended he had perſuaded John Valdeſſo to do the like: but this is moſt certain, that after the Emperor had called his ſon Philip out of England, and reſigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdeſſo did perform their reſolutions.

This account of John Valdeſſo I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Farrer. And the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdeſſo writ his Hundred and Ten Conſiderations, and many other treatiſes of worth, which want a ſecond Mr. Farrer to procure and tranſlate them.

After this account of Mr. Farrer and John Valdeſſo, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promiſe, returned from the

Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him; and therefore their diſcourſe could not be long: but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert ſpoke to this purpoſe: "Sir, I pray give my brother Farrer an "account of the decaying condition of my "body, and tell him I beg him to continue "his daily prayers for me: and let him "know, that I have conſidered, *that God* "*only is what he would be*; and that I "am, by his grace, become now ſo like "him, as to be pleaſed with what pleaſeth "him: and tell him, that I do not repine, "but am pleaſed with my want of health: "and tell him, my heart is fixed on that "place where true joy is only to be found; "and that I long to be there, and do "wait for my appointed change with hope "and patience." Having ſaid this, he did, with ſo ſweet a humility as ſeemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and, with a thoughtful and contented look, ſay to him, "Sir, I pray deliver this little "book to my dear brother Farrer, and "tell him, he ſhall find in it a picture of

"the

"the many ſpiritual conflicts that have "paſſed betwixt God and my ſoul, before "I could ſubject mine to the will of Jeſus "my maſter; in whoſe ſervice I have now "found perfect freedom. Deſire him to "read it; and then, if he can think it may "turn to the advantage of any dejected "poor ſoul, let it be made public; if not, "let him burn it; for I and it are leſs than "the leaſt of God's mercies." Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of *The Temple*; or, *Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations*; of which Mr. Farrer would ſay, "There was in it the picture "of a divine ſoul in every page; and that "the whole book was ſuch a harmony of "holy paſſions, as would enrich the world "with pleaſure and piety." And it appears to have done ſo; for there have been more than twenty thouſand of them ſold ſince the firſt impreſſion.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Farrer ſent this book to Cambridge to be licenſed for the preſs, the Vice-

Chancellor would by no means allow th
two ſo much noted verſes,

> Religion ſtands a tiptoe in our land,
> Ready to paſs to the American ſtrand,

to be printed; and Mr. Farrer would b
no means allow the book to be printe
and want them. But after ſome tim
and ſome arguments for and againſt the
being made public, the Vice-Chancell
ſaid, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, an
"know that he had many heavenly ſpecu
"lations, and was a divine poet: but
"hope the world will not take him to b
"an inſpired prophet, and therefore
"licenſe the whole book." So that
came to be printed without the diminu
tion or addition of a ſyllable, ſince it wa
delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon
ſave only that Mr. Farrer hath added th
excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's lea
ing Mr. Herbert, (which was about thre
weeks before his death,) his old and de
friend Mr. Woodnot came from Londo
to Bemerton, and never left him till h

ha

had ſeen him draw his laſt breath, and cloſed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often viſited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, eſpecially by his friends the Biſhop and Prebends of the cathedral church in Saliſbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces, (then a part of his family,) and Mr. Woodnot, who were the ſad witneſſes of his daily decay; to whom he would often ſpeak to this purpoſe: "I now look back upon the "pleaſures of my life paſt, and ſee the "content I have taken in beauty, in wit, "in muſic, and pleaſant converſation, are "now all paſt by me like a dream, or as "a ſhadow that returns not, and are now "all become dead to me, or I to them; "and I ſee that as my father and genera-"tion hath done before me, ſo I alſo ſhall "now ſuddenly (with Job) *make my bed* "*alſo in the dark*; and I praiſe God I am "prepared for it; and I praiſe him that I "am not to learn patience now I ſtand in "ſuch need of it; and that I have prac-

" tiſed mortification, and endeavoured to
" die daily, that I might not die eternally;
" and my hope is, that I ſhall ſhortly
" leave this valley of tears, and be free
" from all fevers and pain; and, which will
" be a more happy condition, I ſhall be
" free from ſin, and all the temptations
" and anxieties that attend it: and this
" being paſt, I ſhall dwell in the New Je-
" ruſalem; dwell there with men made
" perfect; dwell where theſe eyes ſhall
" ſee my Maſter and Saviour Jeſus; and
" with him ſee my dear mother, and all
" my relations and friends. But I muſt
" die, or not come to that happy place.
" And this is my content, that I am going
" daily towards it; and that every day
" which I have lived hath taken a part
" of my appointed time from me; and
" that I ſhall live the leſs time, for hav-
" ing lived this and the day paſt." Theſe, and the like expreſſions, which he uttered often, may be ſaid to be his enjoyment of heaven before he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he roſe ſuddenly from his bed

bed or couch, called for one of his inſtruments, took it into his hand, and ſaid,

My God, my God,
My muſic ſhall find thee,
And every ſtring
Shall have his attribute to ſing.

And having tuned it, he played and ſung;

The Sundays of man's life,
Threaded together on time's ſtring,
Make bracelets to adorn the wife
Of the eternal glorious King:
On Sundays heaven's door ſtands ope;
Bleſſings are plentiful and rife,
More plentiful than hope.

Thus he ſung on earth ſuch hymns and anthems as the angels, and he, and Mr. Farrer, now ſing in heaven.

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day ſaid to Mr. Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am ſorry I have no-"thing to preſent to my merciful God but "ſin and miſery; but the firſt is pardoned, "and a few hours will now put a period "to the latter; for I ſhall ſuddenly go "hence, and be no more ſeen." Upon which expreſſion, Mr. Woodnot took oc-

caſion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton church, and his many acts of mercy. To which he made anſwer, ſaying, "They be good works, if they be ſprinkled "with the blood of Chriſt, and not other-"wiſe." After this diſcourſe he became more reſtleſs, and his ſoul ſeemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneaſineſs became ſo viſible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, ſtood conſtantly about his bed, beholding him with ſorrow, and an unwillingneſs to loſe the ſight of him, whom they could not hope to ſee much longer. As they ſtood thus beholding him, his wife obſerved him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble, and obſerved him to fall into a ſudden agony; which ſo ſurpriſed her, that ſhe fell into a ſudden paſſion, and required of him to know how he did. To which his anſwer was, "That he had paſſed a conflict with his "laſt enemy, and had overcome him by "the merits of his maſter Jeſus." After which anſwer, he looked up, and ſaw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, "if they loved him,

"to

" to withdraw into the next room, and " there pray every one alone for him; for " nothing but their lamentations could " make his death uncomfortable." To which requeſt their ſighs and tears would not ſuffer them to make any reply; but they yielded him a ſad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Boſtock. Immediately after they had left him, he ſaid to Mr. Boſtock, " Pray, Sir, open that " door, then look into that cabinet, in " which you may eaſily find my laſt will, " and give it into my hand:" which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and ſaid, " My " old friend, I here deliver you my laſt " will, in which you will find that I have " made you my ſole executor for the good " of my wife and nieces; and I deſire you " to ſhew kindneſs to them, as they ſhall " need it: I do not deſire you to be juſt; " for I know you will be ſo for your own " ſake; but I charge you, by the religion " of our friendſhip, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promiſe to be ſo, he ſaid, " I am now ready " to

"to die." After which words, he ſaid, "Lord, forſake me not now my ſtrength "faileth me; but grant me mercy for the "merits of my Jeſus. And now, Lord— "Lord, now receive my ſoul." And with thoſe words he breathed forth his divine ſoul, without any apparent diſturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Boſtock attending his laſt breath, and cloſing his eyes.

Thus he lived, and thus he died, like a ſaint, unſpotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed obſervation:

——All muſt to their cold graves:
But the religious actions of the juſt
Smell ſweet in death, and bloſſom in the duſt.

Mr. George Herbert's have done ſo to this, and will doubtleſs do ſo to ſucceeding generations.—I have but this to ſay more of him; that if Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy. I wiſh (if God ſhall be ſo pleaſed) that I may be ſo happy as to die like him.

Iz. Wa.

THERE is a debt juſtly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very ſhort account of the remainder of her life, which ſhall follow.

She continued his diſconſolate widow about ſix years, bemoaning herſelf, and complaining, that ſhe had loſt the delight of her eyes; but more that ſhe had loſt the ſpiritual guide for her poor ſoul; and would often ſay, "O that I had, like holy "Mary, the mother of Jeſus, treaſured up "all his ſayings in my heart! But ſince "I have not been able to do that, I will "labour to live like him, that where he "now is, I may be alſo." And ſhe would often ſay, (as the prophet David for his ſon Abſalom,) "O that I had died for "him!" Thus ſhe continued mourning, till time and converſation had ſo moderated her ſorrows, that ſhe became the happy wife of

of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the county of Glouceſter, Knight. And though he put a high value on the excellent accompliſhments of her mind and body, and was ſo like Mr.' Herbert, as not to govern like a maſter, but as an affectionate huſband; yet ſhe would even to him often take occaſion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and ſay, "that name "muſt live in her memory till ſhe put off "mortality." By Sir Robert ſhe had only one child, a daughter, whoſe parts and plentiful eſtate make her happy in this world, and her well uſing of them gives a fair teſtimony that ſhe will be ſo in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time ſhe took a pleaſure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a graveſtone without any inſcription.

This

This Lady Cook had preſerved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which ſhe intended to make public; but they and Highnam Houſe were burnt together, by the late rebels, and ſo loſt to poſterity.

I. W.

LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

Mr. GEORGE HERBERT,

AT HIS BEING AT CAMBRIDGE:

With others to his Mother,

THE LADY

MAGDALEN HERBERT,

WRITTEN BY

JOHN DONNE,

Afterwards Dean of St. Paul's.

Mr. GEORGE HERBERT *to* N. F. *the Tranſlator of* Valdeſſo.

MY dear and deſerving brother, your *Valdeſſo* I now return with many thanks, and ſome notes, in which perhaps you will diſcover ſome care, which I forbear not in the midſt of my griefs; firſt for your ſake, becauſe I would do nothing negligently that you commit unto me; ſecondly for the author's ſake, whom I conceive to have been a true ſervant of God; and to ſuch, and all that is theirs, I owe diligence: thirdly for the Church's ſake, to whom, by printing it, I would have you conſecrate it. You owe the Church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands (as he ſent the fiſh with money to St. Peter) to diſcharge it; happily alſo with this (as his thoughts are fruitful) intending the honour of his ſervant the author, who being obſcured in his own country, he would have to flouriſh in this land of light, and

region of the Goſpel, among his choſen. It is true, there are ſome things which I like not in him, as my fragments will expreſs, when you read them: nevertheleſs, I wiſh you by all means to publiſh it, for theſe three eminent things obſervable therein: Firſt, that God in the midſt of popery ſhould open the eyes of one to underſtand and expreſs ſo clearly and excellently the intent of the Goſpel in the acceptation of Chriſt's righteouſneſs, (as he ſheweth through all his conſiderations,) a thing ſtrangely buried and darkened by the adverſaries, and their great ſtumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he every where bears towards our dear Maſter and Lord; concluding every conſideration almoſt with his holy name, and ſetting his merit forth ſo piouſly; for which I do ſo love him, that, were there nothing elſe, I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be publiſhed. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life about mortification, and obſervation of God's kingdom within us, and the working thereof; of which

which he was a very diligent obſerver. Theſe three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects (as I conceive) towards the publiſhing thereof.

From his parſonage of Bemerton, near Saliſbury, Sept. 29, 1632.

To Sir J. D.

SIR,

THOUGH I had the beſt wit in the world, yet it would eaſily tire me to find out variety of thanks for the diverſity of your favours, if I ſought to do ſo; but I profeſs it not; and therefore let it be ſufficient for me, that the ſame heart, which you have won long ſince, is ſtill true to you, and hath nothing elſe to anſwer your infinite kindneſſes, but a conſtancy of obedience: only hereafter I will take heed how I propoſe my deſires unto you, ſince I find you ſo willing to yield to my requeſts; for ſince your favours come a horſeback, there is reaſon that my deſires ſhould go

afoot: neither do I make any queſtion, but that you have performed your kindneſs to the full, and that the horſe is every way fit for me; and I will ſtrive to imitate the completeneſs of your love, with being in ſome proportion, and after my manner,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

For my dear ſick Siſter.

MOST DEAR SISTER,

THINK not my ſilence forgetfulneſs; or that my love is as dumb as my papers: though buſineſſes may ſtop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you; and, which is more, with our good and gracious God, inceſſantly begging ſome eaſe of your pains, with that earneſtneſs that becomes your griefs, and my love. God, who knows and ſees this writing, knows alſo that my ſoliciting him has been much, and my tears many for you: judge me then by thoſe waters, and not

not by my ink, and then you ſhall juſtly value

Your moſt truly, moſt heartily affectionate brother,

Dec. 6, 1620. and ſervant,
TRIN. COLL.

GEORGE HERBERT.

SIR,

I DARE no longer be ſilent, leſt, while I think I am modeſt, I wrong both myſelf, and alſo the confidence my friends have in me: wherefore I will open my caſe unto you, which I think deſerves the reading, at the leaſt; and it is this; I want books extremely. You know, Sir, how I am now ſetting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my future life: and ſhall I then be fain always to borrow books, and build on another's foundation? What tradeſman is there, who will ſet up without his tools? Pardon my boldneſs, Sir; it is a moſt ſerious caſe; nor can I write coldly in that, wherein conſiſteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that Spirit

which hath guided me hitherto, and of achieving my (I dare ſay) holy ends. This alſo is aggravated, in that I apprehend what my friends would have been forward to ſay, if I had taken ill courſes: "Follow your book, and you ſhall want "nothing." You know, Sir, it is their ordinary ſpeech; and now let them make it good; for ſince I hope I have not deceived their expectation, let them not deceive mine. But perhaps they will ſay, "You are ſickly; you muſt not ſtudy too "hard." It is true (God knows) I am weak, yet not ſo, but that every day I may ſtep one ſtep towards my journey's end: and I love my friends ſo well, as that, if all things proved not well, I had rather the fault ſhould lie on me, than on them. But they will object again; "What becomes of your "annuity?" Sir, if there be any truth in me, I find it little enough to keep me in health. You know I was ſick laſt vacation, neither am I yet recovered; ſo that I am fain ever and anon to buy ſomewhat tending towards my health, for infirmities are both painful and coſtly. Now this Lent I a-

fort

forbid utterly to eat any fiſh, ſo that I am fain to diet in my chamber at mine own coſt; for in our public halls, you know, is nothing but fiſh and white meats. Out of Lent alſo, twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays, I muſt do ſo, which yet ſometimes I faſt. Sometimes alſo I ride to Newmarket, and there lie a day or two for freſh air: all which tend to avoiding of coſtlier matters, if I ſhould fall abſolutely ſick. I proteſt and vow, I even ſtudy thrift, and yet I am ſcarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance ſhake hands with the other. And yet if a book of four or five ſhillings come in my way, I buy it, though I faſt for it; yea, ſometimes of ten ſhillings. But, alas, Sir, what is that to thoſe infinite volumes of divinity, which yet every day ſwell, and grow bigger? Noble Sir, pardon my boldneſs, and conſider but theſe three things: Firſt, the bulk of divinity: Secondly, the time when I deſire this; (which is now, when I muſt lay the foundation of my whole life:) Thirdly, what I deſire, and to what end, not vain pleaſures, nor to a vain end. If

then, Sir, there be any courſe, either by engaging my future annuity, or any other way, I deſire you, Sir, to be my mediator to them in my behalf.

Now I write to you, Sir, becauſe to you I have ever opened my heart; and have reaſon, by the patents of your perpetual favour, to do ſo ſtill, for I am ſure you love

Your faithfulleſt ſervant,

March 18, 1617. GEORGE HERBERT.
TRIN. COLL.

SIR,

THIS week hath loaded me with your favours: I wiſh I could have come in perſon to thank you; but it is not poſſible. Preſently after Michaelmas I am to make an oration to the whole Univerſity of an hour long in Latin; and my Lincoln journey hath ſet me much behind-hand: neither can I ſo much as go to Bugden, and deliver your letter; yet have I ſent it thither by a faithful meſſenger this day. I beſeech you all, you, and my dear mother and ſiſter, to pardon me, for my Cambridge neceſſities are ſtronger to tie me here, than

yours

yours to London. If I could poſſibly have come, none ſhould have done my meſſage to Sir Fr. Netherſole for me: he and I are ancient acquaintance; and I have a ſtrong opinion of him, that if he can do me a courteſy, he will of himſelf; yet your appearing in it affects me ſtrangely. I have ſent you here incloſed a letter from our maſter in my behalf, which if you can ſend to Sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expreſſeth the Univerſity's inclination to me: yet if you cannot ſend it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The Orator's place (that you may underſtand what it is) is the fineſt place in the Univerſity, though not the gainfulleſt; yet that will be about thirty pounds per ann. But the commodiouſneſs is beyond the revenue; for the Orator writes all the Univerſity-letters, makes all the orations, be it to King, Prince, or whatever comes to the Univerſity. To requite theſe pains, he takes place next the Doctors, is at all their aſſemblies and meetings, and ſits above

above the Proctors; is Regent or Non-regent at his pleaſure; and ſuch like gayneſſes, which will pleaſe a young man well.

I long to hear from Sir Francis. I pray, Sir, ſend the letter you receive from him to me as ſoon as you can, that I may work the heads to my purpoſe. I hope I ſhall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud; not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may ſee, that if all fail, yet I am able to ſtand on mine own legs. Noble Sir, I thank you for your infinite favours: I fear only that I have omitted ſome fitting circumſtance; yet you will pardon my haſte, which is very great, though never ſo, but that I have both time and work to be

Your extreme ſervant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

SIR,

I HAVE received the things you ſent me ſafe; and now the only thing I long for is, to hear of my dear ſick ſiſter; firſt, how her health fares; next, whether my peace

peace be yet made with her concerning my unkind departure. Can I be ſo happy as to hear of both theſe, that they ſucceed well? Is it not too much for me? Good Sir, make it plain to her, that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her ſon, and my charge. I ſuppoſe ſhe is not diſpoſed to ſpend her eye-ſight on a piece of paper, or elſe I had wrote to her: when I ſhall underſtand that a letter will be ſeaſonable, my pen is ready. Concerning the Orator's place all goes well yet; the next Friday it is tried, and accordingly you ſhall hear. I have forty buſineſſes in my hands: your courteſy will pardon the haſte of

Your humbleſt ſervant,

Jan. 19, 1619. GEORGE HERBERT.
TRIN. COLL.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by Sir Francis Netherſole's letter, that he fears I have not fully reſolved of the matter, ſince this place being civil may divert me too much from divinity, at which, not without cauſe, he thinks

thinks I aim. But I have wrote him back, that this dignity hath no ſuch earthineſs in it, but it may very well be joined with heaven; or if it had to others, yet to me it ſhould not, for aught I yet knew; and therefore I deſire him to ſend me a direct anſwer in his next letter. I pray, Sir, therefore, cauſe this incloſed to be carried to his brother's houſe of his own name, (as I think,) at the ſign of the Pedlar and the Pack on London-bridge; for there he aſſigns me. I cannot yet find leiſure to write to my Lord, or Sir Benjamin Ruddyard; but I hope I ſhall ſhortly: though for the reckoning of your favours I ſhall never find time and paper enough, yet I am

Your readieſt ſervant,

Oct. 6, 1619. GEORGE HERBERT.
TRIN. COLL.

I remember my moſt humble duty to my mother, who cannot think me lazy, ſince I rode two hundred miles to ſee a ſiſter, in a way I knew not, in the midſt of much buſineſs, and all in a fortnight, not long ſince.

To

To the truly Noble Sir J. D.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by a letter from my brother Henry, that he hath bought a parcel of books for me, and that they are coming over. Now though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my ſiſter were acquainted that they are ready, I dare ſay ſhe would make good her promiſe of taking five or ſix pounds upon her; which ſhe hath hitherto deferred to do, not of herſelf, but upon the want of thoſe books which were not to be got in England. For that which ſurmounts, though your noble diſpoſition is infinitely free, yet I had rather fly to my old ward, that if any courſe could be taken of doubling my annuity now, upon condition that I ſhould ſurceaſe from all title to it after I entered into a benefice, I ſhould be moſt glad to entertain it, and both pay for the ſurpluſage of theſe books, and for ever after ceaſe my clamorous and greedy bookiſh requeſts. It is high time now that I ſhould

ſhould be no more a burden to you, ſince I can never anſwer what I have already received; for your favours are ſo ancient, that they prevent my memory, and yet ſtill grow upon

Your humbleſt ſervant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

I remember my moſt humble duty to my mother. I have wrote to my dear ſick ſiſter this week already, and therefore now I hope may be excuſed.

I pray, Sir, pardon my boldneſs of incloſing my brother's letter in yours; for it was becauſe I know your lodging, but not his.

To the worthieſt Lady, Mrs. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

MADAM,

EVERY excuſe hath in it ſomewhat of accuſation; and ſince I am innocent, and yet muſt excuſe, how ſhall I do for that part of accuſing? By my troth, as deſperate and perplexed men grow from thence bold;

bold; ſo muſt I take the boldneſs of accuſing you, who would draw ſo dark a curtain betwixt me and your purpoſes, as that I had no glimmering, neither of your goings, nor the way which my letters might haunt. Yet I have given this licence to travel, but I know not whither, nor it. It is therefore rather a pinnace to diſcover; and the entire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties, muſt follow; whoſe employment is more honourable than that which our State meditates to Virginia, becauſe you are worthier than all that country, of which that is a wretched inch; for you have better treaſure, and a harmleſſneſs. If this ſound like a flattery, tear it out. I am to my letters as rigid a puritan, as Cæſar was to his wife. I can as ill endure a ſuſpicious and miſinterpretable word as a fault. But remember, that nothing is flattery which the ſpeaker believes; and of the groſſeſt flatteries there is this good uſe, that they tell us what we ſhould be. But, Madam, you are beyond inſtruction, and therefore there can belong to you only praiſe; of which though you

be

be no good hearer, yet allow all my letters leave to have in them one part of it, which is thankfulneſs towards you.

Your unworthieſt ſervant,
Except your accepting
have mended him,
JOHN DONNE.

MICHIN,
July 11, 1607.

To the worthieſt Lady, Mrs. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

MADAM,

THIS is my ſecond letter, in which though I cannot tell you what is good, yet this is the worſt, that I muſt be a great part of it; yet to me, that is recompenſed, becauſe you muſt be mingled. After I knew you were gone, (for I muſt, little leſs than accuſingly, tell you, I knew not you would go,) I ſent my firſt letter, like a Bevis of Hampton, to ſeek adventures. This day I came to town, and to the beſt part of it, your houſe; for your memory is a ſtate-cloth and preſence; which I reverence, though you be away: though I need

I need not ſeek that there, which I have about and within me. There though I found my accuſation, yet any thing, to which your hand is, is a pardon: yet I would not burn my firſt letter, becauſe as in great deſtiny no ſmall paſſage can be omitted or fruſtrated; ſo, in my reſolution of writing almoſt daily to you, I would have no link of the chain broke by me, both becauſe my letters interpret one another, and becauſe only their number can give them weight. If I had your commiſſion and inſtructions to do you the ſervice of a lieger ambaſſador here, I could ſay ſomething of the Counteſs of Devon; of the States, and ſuch things. But ſince to you, who are not only a world alone, but the monarchy of the world yourſelf, nothing can be added, eſpecially by me; I will ſuſtain myſelf with the honour of being

Your ſervant extraordinary,

LONDON, July 23, 1607. and without place,

JOHN DONNE.

To the worthieſt Lady, Mrs. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

MADAM,

As we muſt die before we can have full glory and happineſs, ſo before I can have this degree of it, as to ſee you by a letter, I muſt almoſt die, that is, come to London, to plaguy London; a place full of danger, and vanity, and vice, though the Court be gone. And ſuch it will be, till your return redeem it. Not that the greateſt virtue in the world, which is you, can be ſuch a marſhal, as to defeat or diſperſe all the vice of this place; but as higher bodies remove, or contract themſelves, when better come, ſo at your return we ſhall have one door open to innocence. Yet, Madam, you are not ſuch an Ireland, as produceth neither ill, nor good; no ſpiders, nor nightingales; which is a rare degree of perfection. But you have found and practiſed that experiment, that even nature, out of her deteſting of emptineſs, if we will make that our work, to remove bad, will fill us with good things. To abſtain

abſtain from it was therefore but the childhood and minority of your ſoul, which had been long exerciſed ſince, in your manlier active part of doing good. Of which ſince I have been a witneſs and ſubject, not to tell you ſometimes, that by your influence and example I have attained to ſuch a ſtep of goodneſs, as to be thankful, were both to accuſe your power and judgment of impotency and infirmity.

Your Ladyſhip's in all ſervices,

Auguſt 2, 1607. JOHN DONNE.

On Mr. GEORGE HERBERT'S *Book, entitled,* The Temple of Sacred Poems, *ſent to a Gentlewoman.*

KNOW you, Fair, on what you look?
Divineſt love lies in this book;
Expecting fire from your eyes,
To kindle this his ſacrifice.
When your hands untie theſe ſtrings,
Think you've an angel by the wings:
One that gladly will be nigh,
To wait upon each morning ſigh;

To flutter in the balmy air
Of your well-perfumed prayer.
Theſe white plumes of his he'll lend you,
Which every day to heaven will ſend you,
To take acquaintance of the ſphere,
And all the ſmooth-fac'd kindred there.
And though HERBERT's name do owe
Theſe devotions, Faireſt; know
That while I lay them on the ſhrine
Of your white hand, they are mine.

To the Right Honourable the Lady Anne, Counteſs of PEMBR. *and* MONTG. *at Court.*

MADAM,

WHAT a trouble hath your goodneſs brought on you, by admitting our poor ſervices! Now they creep in a veſſel of metheglin, and ſtill they will be preſenting or wiſhing to ſee, if at length they may find out ſomething not unworthy of thoſe hands, at which they aim. In the mean time, a prieſt's bleſſing, though it be none of the court-ſtyle, yet doubtleſs, Madam, can do you no hurt. Wherefore the Lord make good the bleſſing of your mother upon

upon you, and cauſe all her wiſhes, diligence, prayers, and tears, to bud, blow, and bear fruit in your ſoul, to his glory, your own good, and the great joy of,

Madam,

Your moſt faithful ſervant

Dec. 10, 1631. in Chriſt Jeſu,

BEMERTON.

GEORGE HERBERT.

Madam, your poor colony of ſervants preſent their humble duties.

THE LIFE

OF

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON,

LATE

LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND AND HONOURABLE

GEORGE

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

PRELATE OF THE GARTER,

AND ONE OF

HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL,

MY LORD,

IF I ſhould undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your Lordſhip, I ſhould enter upon an employment, that might prove as tedious as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend,

friend, Dr. Sanderſon. But though I will not venture to do that; yet I do remember with pleaſure, and remonſtrate with gratitude, that your Lordſhip made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Hammond; men whoſe merits ought never to be forgotten.

My friendſhip with the firſt was begun almoſt forty years paſt, when I was as far from a thought, as a deſire to outlive him; and farther from an intention to write his Life. But the wiſe Diſpoſer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the firſt, and now permitted the laſt; which is here dedicated to your Lordſhip (and as it ought to be) with all humility, and a deſire that it may remain as a public teſtimony of my gratitude.

My Lord,
Your moſt affectionate old friend,
and moſt humble ſervant,

IZAAK WALTON.

THE

PREFACE.

. DARE neither think, nor aſſure the eader, that I have committed no miſtakes in his relation of the Life of Dr. Sanderſon; ut am ſure there is none that are either ilful, or very material. I confeſs, it was orthy the employment of ſome perſon f more learning and greater abilities than can pretend to; and I have not a little ondered that none have yet been ſo rateful to him and poſterity, as to under- ıke it. For it may be noted, that our aviour hath had ſuch care, that, for Mary Iagdalen's kindneſs to him, her name ıould never be forgotten. And doubtleſs r. Sanderſon's meek and innocent life, ıs great and uſeful learning, might there- ıre challenge the like endeavours to pre- rve his memory: and it is to me a onder, that it has been already fifteen ears neglected. But, in ſaying this, my eaning is not to upbraid others, (I am

far

far from that,) but excuſe myſelf, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it. This being premiſed, I deſire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been ſo bold, as to paraphraſe and ſay what I think he (whom I had the happineſs to know well) would have ſaid upon the ſame occaſions: and if I have erred in this kind, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me; yet I do of my reader, from whom I deſire the ſame favour.

And though my age might have procured me a writ of eaſe, and that ſecured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with ſuch perſuaſions to begin, and ſo many willing informers ſince, and from them, and others, ſuch helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myſelf faint, and weary of the burthen with which I had loaden myſelf, and ready to lay it down; yet time and new ſtrength hath at laſt brought it to be what it now is, and preſented to the reader, and with it this deſire; that he will take notice, that Dr. Sanderſon did in his will or laſt ſickneſs advertiſe, that after his death

ı nothing of his might be printed;
ıſe "that might be ſaid to be his,
ıich indeed was not;" and alſo for
"he might have changed his opinion
ce he firſt writ it." And though
: reaſons ought to be regarded, yet
ded ſo, as he reſolves in that caſe of
:ience concerning raſh vows; that
: may appear very good ſecond rea-
why we may forbear to perform
ı. However, for his ſaid reaſons,
ought to be read as we do apocry-
Scripture; to explain, but not obliges
ſo firm a belief of what is here pre-
:d as his.

ıd I have this to ſay more; that as, in
queries for writing Dr. Sanderſon's
I met with theſe little tracts annexed;
ı my former queries for my informa-
to write the Life of venerable Mr.
ker, I met with a ſermon, which I alſo
ve was really his, and here preſented
ıs to the reader [a]. It is affirmed, (and

[a] his Sermon of Mr. Hooker's, and the Tracts above
ɔned, excepting the *Oxford Reaſons*, are omitted in
ition.

I have

I have met with reaſon to believe it,) that there be ſome artiſts, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy, and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn. And if ſo, then I hope it may be as ſafely affirmed, that what is here preſented for theirs is ſo like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occaſions upon which, they were writ, that all readers may ſafely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderſon.

And laſtly, I am now glad that I have collected theſe memoirs, which lay ſcattered, and contracted them into a narrower compaſs; and if I have, by the pleaſant toil of doing ſo, either pleaſed or profited any man, I have attained what I deſigned when I firſt undertook it. But I ſeriouſly wiſh, both for the reader's and Dr. Sanderſon's ſake, that poſterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen; by ſuch a pen, as could have made his life as immortal, as his learning and merits ought to be.

I. W.

THE LIFE.

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON, the late learned Biſhop of Lincoln, whoſe Life I intend to write with all truth and equal plainneſs, was born the 19th day of September in the year of our redemption 1587. The place of his birth was Rotheram in the county of York; a town of good note, and the more for that Thomas Rotheram, ſometime Archbiſhop of that ſee, was born in it; a man whoſe great wiſdom, and bounty, and ſanctity of life, have made it the more memorable; as indeed it ought alſo to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderſon. And the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great piety, his uſeful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the ſecond and youngeſt ſon of Robert Sanderſon of Gilthwait-hall, in the ſaid pariſh and county, Eſq. by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr, of Butter-

Butterthwate-hall, in the pariſh of Eccleſfield, in the ſaid county of York, Gentleman.

This Robert Sanderſon the father was deſcended from a numerous, ancient, and honourable family of his own name: for the ſearch of which truth, I refer my reader, that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoroton's *Hiſtory of the Antiquities of Nottinghamſhire*, and other records; not thinking it neceſſary here to engage him into a ſearch for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality: for titles not acquired, but derived only, do but ſhew us who of our anceſtors have, and how they have achieved that honour which their deſcendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if thoſe titles deſcend to perſons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valour, or that virtue that acquired them, they deſtroy the very foundation upon which that honour was built; and all the rubbiſh of their vices ought to fall heavy on ſuch diſhonourable heads; ought to fall ſo heavy, as to degrade them of their

their titles, and blaſt their memories with reproach and ſhame.

But our Robert Sanderſon lived worthy of his name and family: of which one teſtimony may be, that Gilbert, called the Great Earl of Shrewſbury, thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a godfather to Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; to whoſe merits and memory poſterity (the Clergy eſpecially) ought to pay a reverence.

But I return to my intended relation of Robert the ſon, who began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life; ſeeming even then to dedicate himſelf, and all his ſtudies, to piety and virtue.

And as he was inclined to this by that native goodneſs, with which the wiſe Diſpoſer of all hearts had endowed his; ſo this calm, this quiet and happy temper of mind (his being mild, and averſe to oppoſitions) made the whole courſe of his life eaſy and grateful both to himſelf and others: and this bleſſed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent

father's good example; and by frequent converſing with him, and ſcattering ſhort apophthegms and little pleaſant ſtories, and making uſeful applications of them, his ſon was in his infancy taught to abhor vanity and vice as monſters, and to diſcern the lovelineſs of wiſdom and virtue; and by theſe means, and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was ſo augmented, and his native goodneſs ſo confirmed, that all became ſo habitual, as it was not eaſy to determine whether nature or education were his teachers.

And here let me tell the reader, that theſe early beginnings of virtue were by God's aſſiſting grace bleſſed with what St. Paul ſeemed to beg for his Philippians; namely, *That he, that had begun a good work in them, would finiſh it*[a]. And Almighty God did: for his whole life was ſo regular and innocent, that he might have ſaid at his death (and with truth and comfort) what the ſame St. Paul ſaid after to the ſame Philippians, when he adviſed them *to walk as they had him for an example*[b].

[a] Phil. i. 6. [b] Chap. iii. ver. 17.

And

And this goodneſs, of which I have ſpoken, ſeemed to increaſe as his years did; and with his goodneſs his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar-ſchool of Rotherham—(that being one of thoſe three that were founded and liberally endowed by the ſaid great and good Biſhop of that name.)—And in this time of his being a ſcholar there, he was obſerved to uſe an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a ſerioufneſs beyond his age, and with it a more than common modeſty; and to be of ſo calm and obliging a behaviour, that the maſter and whole number of ſcholars loved him, as one man.

And in this love and amity he continued at that ſchool till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father deſigned to improve his grammar learning, by removing him from Rotherham to one of the more noted ſchools of Eton or Weſtminſter; and after a year's ſtay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But, as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a miniſter of noted learning,

and told him his intentions; and he, after many queſtions with his ſon, received ſuch anſwers from him, that he aſſured his father, his ſon was ſo perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon; and therefore adviſed him to ſhorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did ſo.

His father left him there to the ſole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie, who was then Rector of Lincoln College. And he, after ſome time, and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that college, and after to matriculate him in the Univerſity, which he did the 1ſt of July, 1603; but he was not choſen Fellow till the 3d of May, 1606; at which time he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts: at the taking of which degree, his tutor told the Rector, "That his pupil "Sanderſon had a metaphyſical brain, "and a matchleſs memory; and that he "thought he had improved, or made the "laſt ſo by an art of his own invention." And all the future employments of his life

life proved that his tutor was not miſtaken.

I muſt here ſtop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of ſo great learning and wiſdom, and ſo excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made Profeſſor of it in this Univerſity; and was alſo ſo perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the tranſlators of the Bible: and that this Doctor and Mr. Sanderſon had frequent diſcourſes, and loved as father and ſon. The Doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyſhire, and took Mr. Sanderſon to bear him company: and they going together on a Sunday with the Doctor's friend to that pariſh-church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more diſcretion, than to waſte a great part of the hour allotted for his ſermon in exceptions againſt the late tranſlation of ſeveral words, (not expecting ſuch a hearer as Dr. Kilbie,) and ſhewed three reaſons why a particular word ſhould have been otherwiſe tranſlated. When Evening Prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to

the Doctor's friend's houſe; where, after ſome other conference, the Doctor told him, "He might have preached more "uſeful doctrine, and not filled his audi- "tors' ears with needleſs exceptions againſt "the late tranſlation: and for that word, "for which he offered to that poor con- "gregation three reaſons why it ought "to have been tranſlated as he ſaid; he "and others had conſidered all them, "and found thirteen more conſiderable "reaſons why it was tranſlated as now "printed:" and told him, "If his friend," then attending him, "ſhould prove guilty "of ſuch indiſcretion, he ſhould forfeit his "favour." To which Mr. Sanderſon ſaid, "He hoped he ſhould not." And the preacher was ſo ingenuous as to ſay, "He "would not juſtify himſelf." And ſo I return to Oxford.

In the year 1608, (July the 11th,) Mr. Sanderſon was completed Maſter of Arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining theſe dignities the time was ſhorter than was then, or is now required: but either his birth, or the well performance of ſome extra-

extraordinary exerciſe, or ſome other merit, made him ſo; and the reader is requeſted to believe that it was the laſt; and requeſted to believe alſo, that, if I be miſtaken in the time, the college-records have miſinformed me. But I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was (November the 7th) by his college choſen Reader of Logic in the houſe; which he performed ſo well, that he was choſen again the 6th of November, 1609. In the year 1613, he was choſen Sub-Rector of the college, and the like for the year 1614, and choſe again to the ſame dignity and truſt for the year 1616.

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were ſuch, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole ſociety; there being no exception againſt him for any faults, but a ſorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and baſhful; both which were, God knows, ſo connatural, as they never left him. And I know not whether his lovers ought to wiſh they had; for they

proved ſo like the radical moiſture in man's body, that they preſerved the life of virtue in his ſoul, which by God's aſſiſting grace never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they may be ſo called) more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he ſtood to be elected one of the Proctors for the Univerſity. And it was not to ſatisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the deſire of the Rector and whole ſociety, of which he was a member; who had not had a Proctor choſen out of their college for the ſpace of ſixty years; (namely, not from the year 1554 unto his ſtanding;) and they perſuaded him, that if he would but ſtand for Proctor, his merits were ſo generally known, and he ſo well beloved, that it was but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it againſt any oppoſers; and told him, "That he would by that means "recover a right or reputation that was "ſeemingly dead to his college." By theſe and other like perſuaſions he yielded up his own reaſon to theirs, and appeared to

and for Proctor. But that election carried on by ſo ſudden and ſecret, by ſo powerful a faction, that he miſſed Which when he underſtood, he pro- d ſeriouſly to his friends, " That if he ere troubled at the diſappointment, was for theirs, and not for his own ke; for he was far from any deſire of ch an employment, as muſt be ma- ged with charge and trouble, and was o uſually rewarded with hard cenſures, hatred, or both."

the year following he was earneſtly aded by Dr. Kilbie and others, to re- the logic lectures, which he had read years paſt in his college; and, that , to methodize and print them, for eaſe and public good of poſterity. though he had an averſeneſs to appear icly in print; yet, after many ſerious itations, and ſome ſecond thoughts of own, he laid aſide his modeſty, and uſed he would; and he did ſo in that of 1615. And the book proved as riends ſeemed to propheſy, that is, of t and general uſe, whether we reſpect the

the Art or the Author. For logic may be ſaid to be an "art of right reaſoning;" an art that undeceives men who take falſehood for truth; enables men to paſs a true judgment, and detect thoſe fallacies which in ſome men's underſtandings, uſurp the place of right reaſon. And how great a maſter our Author was in this art, will quickly appear from that clearneſs of method, argument, and demonſtration, which is ſo conſpicuous in all his other writings. He, who had attained to ſo great a dexterity in the uſe of reaſon himſelf, was beſt qualified to preſcribe rules and directions for the inſtruction of others. And I am the more ſatisfied of the excellency and uſefulneſs of this his firſt public undertaking, by hearing that moſt tutors in both Univerſities teach Dr. Sanderſon's Logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future ſtudies in Philoſophy. And, for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that, ſince his Book of Logic was firſt printed, there has not been leſs than ten thouſand ſold: and that it is like to continue

tinue both to diſcover truth, and to clear and confirm the reaſon of the unborn world.

It will eaſily be believed that his former ſtanding for a Proctor's place, and being diſappointed, muſt prove much diſpleaſing to a man of his great wiſdom and modeſty, and create in him an averſeneſs to run a ſecond hazard of his credit and content: and yet he was aſſured by Dr. Kilbie, and the fellows of his own college, and moſt of thoſe that had oppoſed him in the former election, that his Book of Logic had purchaſed for him ſuch a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former election had got for him ſo great and ſo general a love, that all his former oppoſers repented what they had done; and therefore perſuaded him to venture to ſtand a ſecond time. And, upon theſe and other like encouragements, he did again, but not without an inward unwillingneſs, yield up his own reaſon to theirs, and promiſed to ſtand. And he did ſo; and was the 10th of April, 1616, choſen Senior Proctor for the year following; Mr. Charles Crooke

of

of Chriſt Church being then choſen the Junior.

In this year of his being Proctor there happened many memorable accidents; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot, Maſter of Balliol College, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, (who being elected or conſecrated Biſhop of Sarum ſome months before,) was ſolemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his dioceſe, by the heads of all houſes, and the chief of all the Univerſity. And Dr. Prideaux ſucceeded him in the Profeſſorſhip, in which he continued till the year 1642, (being then elected Biſhop of Worceſter,) and then our now Proctor, Mr. Sanderſon, ſucceeded him in the Regius Profeſſorſhip.

And in this year Dr. Arthur Lake (then Warden of New College) was advanced to the Biſhopric of Bath and Wells: a man of whom I take myſelf bound in juſtice to ſay, that he made the great truſt committed to him, the chief care and whole buſineſs of his life. And one teſtimony of this truth may be, that he ſate uſually with his Chancellor in his conſiſtory, and at leaſt adviſed,

adviſed, if not aſſiſted, in moſt ſentences for the puniſhing of ſuch offenders as deſerved church-cenſures. And it may be noted, that, after a ſentence for penance was pronounced, he did very warily or never allow of any commutation for the offence, but did uſually ſee the ſentence for penance executed; and then as uſually preached a ſermon of mortification and repentance, and did ſo apply them to the offenders, that then ſtood before him, as begot in them then a devout contrition, and at leaſt reſolutions to amend their lives: and having done that, he would take them (though never ſo poor) to dinner with him, and uſe them friendly, and diſmiſs them with his bleſſing and perſuaſions to a virtuous life, and beg them to believe him. And his humility and charity, and other Chriſtian excellencies, were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himſelf in his Life, truly writ, and printed before his Sermons.

And in this year alſo, the very prudent and very wiſe Lord Elſmere, who was ſo very long Lord Chancellor of England, and

and then of Oxford, reſigning up the laſt, the Right Honourable, and as magnificent, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was choſe to ſucceed him.

And in this year our late King Charles the Firſt (then Prince of Wales) came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately viſited the Univerſity, the Schools, Colleges, and Libraries, he and his attendants were entertained with ceremonies and feaſting ſuitable to their dignity and merits.

And this year King James ſent letters to the Univerſity for the regulating their ſtudies; eſpecially of the young divines: adviſing they ſhould not rely on modern ſums and ſyſtems, but ſtudy the Fathers and Councils, and the more primitive learning. And this advice was occaſioned by the indiſcreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning *Predeſtination, Univerſal Redemption, the Irreſiſtibility of God's grace*, and of ſome other knotty points depending upon theſe; points which many think were not, but by interpreters forced to be,

Mr.

Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falſehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation being only to acquaint the reader with the occaſion of the King's letter.

It may be obſerved, that the various accidents of this year did afford our Proctor large and laudable matter to relate and diſcourſe upon: and that though his office ſeemed, according to ſtatute and cuſtom, to require him to do ſo at his leaving it; yet he choſe rather to paſs them over with ſome very ſhort obſervations, and preſent the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up diſcipline and order in the Univerſity; which at that time was, either by defective ſtatutes, or want of the due execution of thoſe that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year alſo the magiſterial part of the Proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reaſon of a multiplicity of new ſtatutes, which begot much confuſion; ſome of which ſtatutes were then, and others ſuddenly after, put into a uſeful execution.

And

And though theſe ſtatutes were not then made ſo perfectly uſeful as they were deſigned, till Archbiſhop Laud's time; (who aſſiſted in the forming and promoting them;) yet our preſent Proctor made them as effectual as diſcretion and diligence could do: of which one example may ſeem worthy the noting; namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular ſcholars abſent from their colleges at univerſity hours, or diſordered by drink, or in ſcandalous company, he did not uſe his power of puniſhing to an extremity; but did uſually take their names, and a promiſe to appear before him unſent for next morning: and when they did, convinced them, with ſuch obligingneſs, and reaſon added to it, that they parted from him with ſuch reſolutions, as the man after God's own heart was poſſeſſed with, when he ſaid, *There is mercy with thee, and therefore thou ſhalt be feared*[c]. And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was ſo happy as to lay down this dangerous employ-

[c] Pſal. cxxx. 4.

ment,

ient, as but very few, if any, have done, ven without an enemy.

After his ſpeech was ended, and he re-red with a friend into a convenient pri-acy, he looked upon his friend with a ıore than common cheerfulneſs, and ſpake o him to this purpoſe: "I look back ' upon my late employment with ſome ' content to myſelf, and a great thankful-' neſs to Almighty God, that he hath ' made me of a temper not apt to provoke ' the meaneſt of mankind, but rather to ' paſs by infirmities, if noted; and in this ' employment I have had (God knows) ' many occaſions to do both. And when ' I conſider how many of a contrary tem-' per are by ſudden and ſmall occaſions ' tranſported and hurried by anger to ' commit ſuch errors, as they in that paſ-' ſion could not foreſee, and will in their ' more calm and deliberate thoughts up-' braid, and require repentance: and con-' ſider, that though repentance ſecures us ' from the puniſhment of any ſin, yet how ' much more comfortable it is to be inno-' cent, than need pardon: and conſider,

"that errors againſt men, though par-
"doned both by God and them, do yet
"leave ſuch anxious and upbraiding im-
"preſſions in the memory, as abates of the
"offender's content:—when I conſider all
"this, and that God hath of his goodneſs
"given me a temper, that hath prevented
"me from running into ſuch enormities,
"I remember my temper with joy and
"thankfulneſs. And though I cannot ſay
"with David, (I wiſh I could,) that there-
"fore *his praiſe ſhall always be in my*
"*mouth*[a]; yet I hope, that by his grace,
"and that grace ſeconded by my endea-
"vours, it ſhall never be blotted out of my
"memory; and I now beſeech Almighty
"God that it never may."

And here I muſt look back, and mention one paſſage more in his proctorſhip, which is, that Gilbert Sheldon, the late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was this year ſent to Trinity College in that Univerſity; and, not long after his entrance there, a letter was ſent after him from his godfather, (the father of our Proctor,) to let his

[a] Pſal. xxxiv. 1.

ſon

know it, and commend his godſon to acquaintance, and to more than a com- ı care of his behaviour; which proved eaſing injunction to our Proctor, who ſo gladly obedient to his father's de- that he ſome few days after ſent his itor to intreat Mr. Sheldon to his mber next morning. But it ſeems Mr. ldon having (like a young man as he) run into ſome ſuch irregularity as le him conſcious he had tranſgreſſed his ıtes, did therefore apprehend the Proc- ɜ invitation as an introduction to pu- ment; the fear of which made his reſtleſs that night: but, at their meet- the next morning, that fear vaniſhed ıediately by the Proctor's cheerful ıtenance, and the freedom of their diſ- ſe of friends. And let me tell my er, that this firſt meeting proved the nning of as ſpiritual a friendſhip as ıan nature is capable of; of a friend- free from all ſelf-ends: and it conti- l to be ſo, till death forced a ſepara- of it on earth; but it is now reunited eaven.

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the conſiderable accidents in his proctorſhip, I proceed to tell my reader, that, this buſy employment being ended, he preached his ſermon for his degree of Bachelor in Divinity in as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the matter, as hath been preached in that Univerſity ſince that day. And having well performed his other exerciſes for that degree, he took it the nine and twentieth of May following, having been ordained Deacon and Prieſt in the year 1611, by John King, then Biſhop of London, who had not long before been Dean of Chriſt-Church, and then knew him ſo well, that he became his moſt affectionate friend. And in this year, being then about the 29th of his age, he took from the Univerſity a licence to preach.

In the year 1618 he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderſon, Lord Viſcount Caſtleton, preſented to the rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boſton, in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in ſo low and wet a part of that country,

try, as was inconſiſtent with his health. And health being (next to a good conſcience) the greateſt of God's bleſſings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preſerve it, he, apprehending a danger of loſing it, if he continued at Wibberton a ſecond winter, did therefore reſign it back into the hands of his worthy kinſman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his reſignation he was preſented to the rectory of Boothby Pannel in the ſame county of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and muſt continue to be famous, becauſe Dr. Sanderſon, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderſon, was more than forty years parſon of Boothby Pannel, and from thence dated all or moſt of his matchleſs writings.

To this living (which was of leſs value, but a purer air than Wibberton) he was preſented by Thomas Harrington, of the ſame county and pariſh, Eſq. who was a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of great uſe and eſteem in his country

during his whole life. And in this Boothby Pannel the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderſon and his patron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendſhip, till the death of the laſt put a period to it.

About the time that he was made parſon of Boothby Pannel, he reſigned his fellowſhip of Lincoln College unto the then Rector and Fellows; and his reſignation is recorded in theſe words:

Ego Robertus Sanderſon per, &c.

"I Robert Sanderſon, Fellow of the "College of St. Mary's and All-Saints, "commonly called Lincoln College, in "the Univerſity of Oxford, do freely and "willingly reſign into the hands of the "Rector and Fellows, all the right and "title that I have in the ſaid College, "wiſhing to them and their ſucceſſors all "peace, and piety, and happineſs, in the "name of the Father, and of the Son, and "of the Holy Ghoſt. Amen.

"May 6, 1619. ROBERT SANDERSON."

And

And not long after this reſignation, he was by the then Biſhop of York, or the King, *ſede vacante*, made Prebend of the collegiate church of Southwell in that dioceſe; and ſhortly after of Lincoln by the Biſhop of that ſee.

And being now reſolved to ſet down his reſt in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannel, and looking back with ſome ſadneſs upon his removal from his general acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleaſures of a univerſity life; he could not but think the want of ſociety would render this of a country parſon the more uncomfortable, by reaſon of that want of converſation; and therefore he did put on ſome faint purpoſes to marry. For he had conſidered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a ſingle life; yet a complying and prudent wife changes thoſe very cares into ſo mutual a content, as makes them become like the ſufferings of St. Paul[a], which he would not have wanted, becauſe *they occaſioned his rejoicing in them*. And he hav-

[a] Coloſ. i. 24.

ing well conſidered this, and obſerved the ſecret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleaſures and contented trouble of their daily care and conſtant endeavours to bring up thoſe little images of themſelves, ſo as to make them as happy as all thoſe cares and endeavours can make them: he having conſidered all this, the hopes of ſuch happineſs turned his faint purpoſe into a poſitive reſolution to marry. And he was ſo happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelſon, Bachelor in Divinity, then Rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln, a man of noted worth and learning. And the Giver of all good things was ſo good to him, as to give him ſuch a wife as was ſuitable to his own deſires; a wife, that made his life happy by being always content when he was cheerful; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his ſorrow, by bearing a part of that burden; a wife, that demonſtrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his deſires, during the whole courſe of his life; and at his death too, for ſhe outlived him.

And

And in this Boothby Pannel he either ound or made his pariſhioners peaceable, nd complying with him in the decent nd regular ſervice of God. And thus his ariſh, his patron, and he lived together n a religious love, and a contented quiet- neſs; he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and uſeleſs notions, but ſuch plain truths as were neceſſary to be known, believed, and practiſed, in or- der to their ſalvation. And their aſſent to what he taught was teſtified by ſuch a conformity to his doctrine, as declared hey believed and loved him. For he vould often ſay, "That, without the laſt, the moſt evident truths (heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver) either are not, or are at leaſt the leſs, effectual; and do uſually rather harden than convince the hearer."

And this excellent man did not think duty diſcharged by only reading the rch-prayers, catechiſing, preaching, adminiſtering the ſacraments ſeaſon- ; but thought (if the Law or the ns may ſeem to enjoin no more, yet) that

that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making can or do enjoin; the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conſcience of all good Chriſtians, and inclines thoſe whom he loves to perform. He, conſidering this, did therefore become a law to himſelf, practiſing what his conſcience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-ſuits, both in his pariſh and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often viſiting ſick and diſconſolate families, perſuading them to patience, and raiſing them from dejection by his advice and cheerful diſcourſe, and by adding his own alms, if there were any ſo poor as to need it; conſidering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are adviſed by St. Paul, *help to bear one another's burden*[a], either of ſorrow or want: and what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts ſhall call us to a ſtrict account for that evil we have done, and the good we have omitted, to remem-

[a] Gal. vi. 2.

ber

ber we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or diſtreſſed family.

And that his practice was to do good, one example may be, that he met with a poor dejected neighbour, that complained he had taken a meadow, the rent of which was 9l. a year; and when the hay was made ready to be carried into his barn, ſeveral days conſtant rain had ſo raiſed the water, that a ſudden flood carried all away, and his rich landlord would bate him no rent; and that, unleſs he had half abated, he and ſeven children were utterly undone. It may be noted, that in this age there are a ſort of people ſo unlike the God of mercy, ſo void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themſelves and children; love them ſo, as not to be concerned, whether the reſt of mankind waſte their days in ſorrow or ſhame; people that are curſed with riches, and a miſtake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not ſo with Dr. Sanderſon; for he was concerned, and ſpoke comfortably to the poor dejected man; bade him go home

and

and pray, and not load himſelf with ſorrow; for he would go to his landlord next morning; and if his landlord would not abate what he deſired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went the next day; and in a conference the Doctor preſented to him the ſad condition of his poor dejected tenant; telling him how much God is pleaſed when men compaſſionate the poor: and told him, that though God loves ſacrifice, yet he loves mercy ſo much better, that he is pleaſed when called "the "God of mercy." And told him, the riches he was poſſeſſed of were given him by that God of mercy, who would not be pleaſed, if he, that had ſo much given, yea, and forgiven him too, ſhould prove like the rich ſteward in the Goſpel, *that took his fellow ſervant by the throat to make him pay the utmoſt farthing*. This he told him: and told him, that the law of this nation (by which law he claims his rent) does not undertake to make men honeſt or merciful; but does what it can to reſtrain men from being diſhoneſt or unmerciful,

ciful, and yet was defective in both: and that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God ſuffered him not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do ſo, yet if he did ſo, he was too like that rich ſteward which he had mentioned to him; and told him that riches ſo gotten, and added to his great eſtate, would, as Job ſays, *prove like gravel in his teeth*, would in time ſo corrode his conſcience, or become ſo nauſeous when he lay upon his death-bed, that he would then labour to vomit it up, and not be able: and therefore adviſed him, being very rich, to make friends of his *unrighteous Mammon*, before that evil day come upon him: but however, neither for his own ſake, nor for God's ſake, to take any rent of his poor, dejected, ſad tenant; for that were to gain a temporal, and loſe his eternal happineſs. Theſe and other ſuch reaſons were urged with ſo grave and ſo compaſſionate an earneſtneſs, that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent.

The reader will eaſily believe that Dr. Sanderſon, who was himſelf ſo meek and mer-

merciful, did ſuddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and we believe, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boaſts, *that he had ſeen none periſh for want of clothing: and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoice*[a]. And doubtleſs Dr. Sanderſon might have made the ſame religious boaſt of this, and very many like occaſions. But, ſince he did not, I rejoice that I have this juſt occaſion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myſelf and him in telling how like the whole courſe of Dr. Sanderſon's life was to this which I have now related.

Thus he went on in an obſcure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed, as often as any occaſion offered itſelf; yet not ſo obſcurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety were much noted and valued by the Biſhop of his dioceſe, and by moſt of the nobility and gentry of that county. By the firſt of which he was often ſum-

[a] Job xxxi.

moned

moned to preach many viſitation ſermons, and by the latter at many aſſizes. Which ſermons, though they were much eſteemed by them that procured and were fit to judge them; yet they were the leſs valued, becauſe he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory, (even the art of it,) yet he had ſuch an innate invincible fear and baſhfulneſs, that his memory was wholly uſeleſs, as to the repetition of his ſermons as he had writ them; which gave occaſion to ſay, when they were firſt printed and expoſed to cenſure, (which was in the year 1632,) "that the beſt ſermons that were "ever read, were never preached."

In this contented obſcurity he continued till the learned and good Archbiſhop Laud, who knew him well in Oxford, (for he was his contemporary there,) told the King, (it was the knowing and conſcientious King Charles the Firſt,) that there was one Mr. Sanderſon, an obſcure country miniſter, that was of ſuch ſincerity, and ſo excellent in all caſuiſtical learning, that he deſired his Majeſty would make

make him his Chaplain. The King granted it moſt willingly, and gave the Biſhop charge to haſten it; for he longed to diſcourſe with a man that had dedicated his ſtudies to that uſeful part of learning. The Biſhop forgot not the King's deſire, and Mr. Sanderſon was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in November following, 1631. And when they became known to each other, the King did put many caſes of conſcience to him, and received from him ſuch deliberate, ſafe, and clear ſolutions, as gave him great content in converſing with him: ſo that, at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him, "he ſhould long for the next November; "for he reſolved to have a more inward "acquaintance with him, when that "month and he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good King was never abſent from his ſermons, and would uſually ſay, "I carry my ears "to hear other preachers; but I carry my "conſcience to hear Mr. Sanderſon, and to "act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from poſterity, that the

King

King thought what he ſpake: for he took him to be his adviſer in that quiet part of his life, and he proved to be his comforter in thoſe days of his affliction, when he apprehended himſelf to be in danger of death or depoſing. Of which more hereafter.

In the firſt Parliament of this good King, (which was 1625,) he was choſen to be a clerk of the convocation for the dioceſe of Lincoln; which I here mention, becauſe about that time did ariſe many diſputes about predeſtination, and the many critical points that depend upon or are interwoven in it; occaſioned, as was ſaid, by a diſquiſition of new principles of Mr. Calvin's, though others ſay they were before his time. But of theſe Dr. Sanderſon then drew up, for his own ſatisfaction, ſuch a ſcheme (he called it *Pax Eccleſiæ*) as then gave himſelf, and hath ſince given others, ſuch ſatisfaction, that it ſtill remains to be of great eſtimation among the moſt learned. He was alſo choſen clerk of all the convocations during that good King's reign. Which I here tell my reader, becauſe I

ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention that convocation in 1640, the unhappy Long Parliament, and ſome debates of the predeſtination points, as they have been ſince charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, the now reverend Dean of Saliſbury.

In the year 1636, his Majeſty, then in his progreſs, took a fair occaſion to viſit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himſelf and honourable attendants; which the reader ought to believe was ſuitable to their dignities. But this is mentioned, becauſe at the King's coming thither Dr. Sanderſon did attend him, and was then (the 31ſt of Auguſt) created Doctor of Divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made Doctors and Maſters of Arts with him: ſome of whoſe names ſhall be recorded and live with his, and none ſhall outlive it. Firſt, Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren, who were then Biſhops of Winton and of Norwich, (and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge,) were with him created

created Doctors of Divinity in his Univerſity. So was Meric, the ſon of the learned Iſaac Caſaubon; and Prince Rupert, who ſtill lives, the then Duke of Lenox, Earl of Hereford, Earl of Eſſex, of Berkſhire, and very many others of noble birth (too many to be named) were then created Maſters of Arts.

Some years before the unhappy Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, (though inwardly ſick of being well,) namely in the year 1639, a diſcontented party of the Scots Church were zealouſly reſtleſs for another reformation of their kirk-government; and to that end created a new Covenant, for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his aſſent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation. But this petition was not to be preſented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity; but by ſo many thouſands, and they ſo armed, as ſeemed to force an aſſent to what they ſeemed to requeſt: ſo that though forbidden by the King, yet they entered Eng-

land, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered Newcaſtle, where the King was forced to meet them with an army: but upon a treaty, and ſome conceſſions, he ſent them back, (though not ſo rich as they intended, yet,) for that time without bloodſhed. But, oh! this peace, and this Covenant, were but the forerunners of war, and the many miſeries that followed: for in the year following there were ſo many choſen into the Long Parliament, that were of a conjunct council with theſe very zealous and as factious reformers, as begot ſuch a confuſion by the ſeveral deſires and deſigns in many of the members of that Parliament, and at laſt in the very common people of this nation, that they were ſo loſt by contrary deſigns, fears, and confuſions, as to believe the Scots and their Covenant would reſtore them to their former tranquillity. And to that end the Preſbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch Covenanters back into England: and hither they came marching with it glorioufly upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto; *For the crown*

own and covenant of both kingdoms. This ſaw, and ſuffered by it. But when I look ack upon the ruin of families, the blood- ed, the decay of common honeſty, and ow the former piety and plain-dealing f this now ſinful nation is turned into ruelty and cunning, I praiſe God that he revented me from being of that party hich helped to bring in this Covenant, nd thoſe ſad confuſions that have fol- wed it. And I have been the bolder to y this of myſelf, becauſe, in a ſad diſ- ourſe with Dr. Sanderſon, I heard him ake the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digreſſion is intended for the bet- er information of the reader in what will llow concerning Dr. Sanderſon. And rſt, that the Covenanters of this nation, nd their party in Parliament, made many xceptions againſt the Common Prayer nd ceremonies of the Church, and ſeemed eſtleſs for a reformation: and though their eſires ſeemed not reaſonable to the King nd the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbiſhop f Canterbury; yet, to quiet their conſci- nces, and prevent future confuſion, they

did, in the year 1641, deſire Dr. Sanderſon to call two more of the convocation to adviſe with him, and that he would then draw up ſome ſuch ſafe alterations as he thought fit in the ſervice-book, and abate ſome of the ceremonies that were leaſt material, for ſatisfying their conſciences: and to this end they did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Weſtminſter's houſe, for the ſpace of three months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderſon had made the reformation ready for a view, the Church and State were both fallen into ſuch a confuſion, that Dr. Sanderſon's model for reformation became then uſeleſs. Nevertheleſs, his reputation was ſuch, that he was, in the year 1642, propoſed by both Houſes of Parliament to the King, then in Oxford, to be one of their truſtees for the ſettling of church-affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be ſo: but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two Houſes of Parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an aſſembly of divines,

s, to debate and ſettle ſome church-
roverſies, of which many were very
t to judge: in which Dr. Sanderſon
alſo named; but did not appear; I
oſe for the ſame reaſon that many
r worthy and learned men did for-
, the ſummons wanting the King's
ority. And here I muſt look back,
tell the reader, that in the year 1642,
vas (July 21) named by a more un-
)ted authority to a more noble em-
ment, which was to be Profeſſor Re-
of Divinity in Oxford: but though
vledge be ſaid to puff up, yet his mo-
' and too mean an opinion of his great
ties, and ſome other real or pretended
)ns, (expreſſed in his ſpeech, when he
appeared in the chair, and ſince
ed,) kept him from entering into it
)ctober, 1646.

e did for about a year's time continue
ad his matchleſs lectures, which were
le Juramento, a point very difficult, and
at time very dangerous to be handled
ought to be. But this learned man,
: was eminently furniſhed with abili-

ties to ſatisfy the conſciences of men upon that important ſubject; ſo he wanted not courage to aſſert the true obligation of oaths in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part of their religion. How much the learned world ſtands obliged to him for theſe and his following lectures *de Conſcientia*, I ſhall not attempt to declare, as being very ſenſible that the beſt pens muſt needs fall ſhort in the commendation of them: ſo that I ſhall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete ſtandard for the reſolution of the moſt material doubts in caſuiſtical divinity. And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading thoſe lectures, (the King being then priſoner in the Iſle of Wight,) the Parliament had ſent the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and I know not what more, to be taken by the Doctor of the Chair, and all heads of houſes: and all other inferior ſcholars, of what degree ſoever, were all to take theſe oaths by a fixed day; and thoſe that did not, to abandon their College, and the Uni-

Univerſity too, within twenty-four hours after the beating of a drum; for if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded againſt as ſpies.

Dr. Laud, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and many others, had been formerly murdered by this wicked Parliament; but the King yet was not: and the Univerſity had yet ſome faint hopes that in a treaty then in being, or pretended to be ſuddenly, there might be ſuch an agreement made between King and Parliament, that the Diſſenters in the Univerſity might both preſerve their conſciences and ſubſiſtence which they then enjoyed by their Colleges.

And being poſſeſſed of this miſtaken hope, that the Parliament were not yet grown ſo mercileſs as not to allow manifeſt reaſon for their not ſubmitting to the enjoined oaths, the Univerſity appointed twenty delegates to meet, conſider, and draw up a manifeſto to the Parliament, why they could not take thoſe oaths but by violation of their conſciences: and of theſe delegates Dr. Sheldon, (late Arch-

Archbiſhop of Canterbury,) Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderſon, Dr. Morley, (now Biſhop of Wincheſter,) and that moſt honeſt and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch, were a part; the reſt I cannot now name: but the whole number of the delegates requeſted Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderſon; and he was requeſted to methodize and add what referred to reaſon and conſcience, and put it into form. He yielded to their deſires, and did ſo. And then after they had been read in a full convocation, and allowed of, they were printed in Latin; that the Parliament's proceedings and the Univerſity's ſufferings might be manifeſted to all nations; and the impoſers of theſe oaths might repent, or anſwer them: but they were paſt the firſt; and for the latter, I might ſwear they neither can, nor ever will. And theſe Reaſons were alſo ſuddenly turned into Engliſh by Dr. Sanderſon, that thoſe of theſe three kingdoms might the better judge of the loyal party's ſufferings [a].

[a] A copy of theſe *Reaſons* is ſubjoined to this Life.

About

ıbout this time the Independents (who
e then grown to be the moſt powerful
t of the army) had taken the King from
oſe to a more large impriſonment; and,
their own pretences to liberty of con-
nce, were obliged to allow ſomewhat
that to the King, who had in the year
.6 ſent for Dr. Sanderſon, Dr. Ham-
nd, Dr. Sheldon, (the late Archbiſhop
Canterbury,) and Dr. Morley, (the now
hop of Wincheſter,) to attend him, in
er to adviſe with them, how far he
ght with a good conſcience comply with
propoſals of the Parliament for a peace
Church and State: but theſe, having
n then denied him by the Preſbyterian
liament, were now allowed him by
ſe in preſent power. And as thoſe
ıer Divines, ſo Dr. Sanderſon gave his
endance on his Majeſty alſo in the
: of Wight, preached there before
n, and had in that attendance many,
:h public and private, conferences with
n, to his Majeſty's great ſatisfaction.
which time he deſired Dr. Sanderſon,
ıt being the Parliament had propoſed

to

to him the aboliſhing of Epiſcopal Government in the Church, as inconſiſtent with monarchy, that he would conſider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do ſo, and did it; but it might not be printed till our King's happy reſtoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderſon's taking his leave of his Majeſty in his laſt attendance on him, the King requeſted him "to betake himſelf to the writing caſes of "conſcience for the good of poſterity." To which his anſwer was, "That he was "now grown old, and unfit to write caſes "of conſcience." But the King was ſo bold with him as to ſay, "It was the "ſimpleſt anſwer he ever heard from Dr. "Sanderſon; for no young man was fit to "be a judge, or write caſes of conſci-"ence." And let me here take occaſion to tell the reader this truth, not commonly known; that in one of theſe conferences this conſcientious King told Dr. Sanderſon, or one of them that then waited with him, "that the remembrance of two errors "did much afflict him, which were, his "aſſent to the Earl of Strafford's death,

"and

" and the aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in Scot-
" land; and that if God ever reſtored him
" to be in a peaceable poſſeſſion of his
" crown, he would demonſtrate his repent-
" ance by a public confeſſion and a volun-
" tary penance, (I think barefoot) from the
" Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St.
" Paul's Church, and deſire the people to
" intercede with God for his pardon." I am ſure one of them told it me, lives ſtill, and will witneſs it. And it ought to be obſerved, that Dr. Sanderſon's lectures *de Juramento* were ſo approved and valued by the King, that in this time of his impriſonment and ſolitude he tranſlated them into exact Engliſh, deſiring Dr. Juxon, (then Biſhop of London,) Dr. Hammond, and Sir Thomas Herbert, (who then attended him,) to compare them with the original. The laſt ſtill lives, and has declared it, with ſome other of that King's excellencies, in a letter under his own hand, which was lately ſhewed me by Sir William Dugdale, King at Arms. The book was deſigned to be put into the King's library at St. James's; but, I doubt, not now to be found there.

there. I thought the honour of the author and the tranſlator to be both ſo much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inſerted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderſon in the chair in Oxford; where they that complied not in taking the Covenant, Negative Oath, and Parliament Ordinance for church-diſcipline and worſhip, were under a ſad and daily apprehenſion of expulſion: for the viſitors were daily expected, and both city and univerſity full of ſoldiers, and a party of Preſbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to poſſeſs, as the ignorant and ill-natured viſitors were to eject the Diſſenters out of their colleges and livelihoods: but, notwithſtanding, Dr. Sanderſon did ſtill continue to read his lecture, and did, to the very faces of thoſe Preſbyterian divines and ſoldiers, read with ſo much reaſon, and with a calm fortitude make ſuch applications, as, if they were not, they ought to have been aſhamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborne to do what followed.

But

But theſe thriving ſinners were hardened; and as the viſitors expelled the orthodox, they, without ſcruple or ſhame, poſſeſſed themſelves of their colleges; ſo that, with the reſt, Dr. Sanderſon was (in June, 1648) forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not impriſoned, as Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and others then were.

I muſt now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulſion, when the Univerſity had denied this ſubſcription, and apprehended the danger of that viſitation which followed, they ſent Dr. Morley, then Canon of Chriſt-Church, (now Lord Biſhop of Wincheſter), and others, to petition the Parliament for recalling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or accept of their reaſons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the petition was by Parliament referred to a committee to hear and report the reaſons to the Houſe, and a day ſet for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the reſt went to inform and fee counſel, to plead their cauſe on the

the day appointed: but there had been ſo many committed for pleading, that none durſt undertake it; for at this time the privileges of that Parliament were become a *Noli me tangere*, as ſacred and uſeful to them, as traditions ever were, or are now, to the Church of Rome; their number muſt never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reaſon Dr. Morley was forced, for want of counſel, to plead the Univerſity's reaſons for not-compliance with the Parliament's injunctions: and though this was done with great reaſon, and a boldneſs equal to the juſtice of his cauſe; yet the effect of it was, but that he and the reſt appearing with him were ſo fortunate, as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was ſome few days before the viſitors and more ſoldiers were ſent down to drive the Diſſenters out of the Univerſity. And one that was, at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that committee, obſerving Dr. Morley's behaviour and reaſon, and inquiring of him,

him, and hearing a good report of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and, that he might expreſs it, ſent for me that relate this ſtory, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, "he had ſuch a love for Dr. "Morley, that knowing he would not "take the oaths, and muſt therefore be "ejected his college, and leave Oxford; "he deſired I would therefore write to "him to ride out of Oxford, when the "Viſitors came into it, and not return till "they left it, and he ſhould be ſure then "to return in ſafety; and that he ſhould, "without taking any oath or other moleſ-"tation, enjoy his Canon's place in his "college." I did receive this intended kindneſs with a ſudden gladneſs, becauſe I was ſure the party had a power, and as ſure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the Doctor word: and his anſwer was, "that I muſt not fail to return "my friend (who ſtill lives) his humble "and undiſſembled thanks, though he "could not accept of his intended kind-"neſs; for when the Dean, Dr. Gardner,

" Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sander-
" ſon, and all the reſt of the college, were
" turned out, except Dr. Wall, he ſhould
" take it to be, if not a ſin, yet a ſhame,
" to be left behind with him only." Dr. Wall I knew, and will ſpeak nothing of him, for he is dead.

It may be eaſily imagined, with what a joyful willingneſs theſe ſelf-loving reformers took poſſeſſion of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved colleges and ſubſiſtence: but their conſciences were dearer than their ſubſiſtence, and out they went; the reformers poſſeſſing them without ſhame or ſcruple: where I will leave theſe ſcruple-mongers, and make an account of the then preſent affairs of London, to be the next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the Biſhops' houſes were turned to be priſons, and they filled with Divines, that would not take the Covenant, or forbear reading Common Prayer, or that were accuſed for ſome faults like theſe. For it may be noted, that about this time the Parliament ſet out a pro-

proclamation to encourage all laymen at had occaſion to complain of their niſters for being troubleſome or ſcanlous, or that conformed not to orders Parliament, to make their complaint to committee for that purpoſe; and the iniſter, though a hundred miles from ndon, ſhould appear there, and give isfaction, or be ſequeſtered; (and you ay be ſure no pariſh could want a cotous, or malicious, or croſs-grained comainant;) by which means all priſons in ndon, and in ſome other places, beme the ſad habitations of Conforming vines.

And about this time the Biſhop of nterbury having been by an unknown w condemned to die, and the execution ſpended for ſome days, many of the alicious citizens, fearing his pardon, ſhut their ſhops, profeſſing not to open em till juſtice was executed. This ma-e and madneſs is ſcarce credible; but I w it.

The Biſhops had been voted out of the ouſe of Parliament, and ſome upon that

occaſion ſent to the Tower; which made many Covenanters rejoice, and believe Mr. Brightman (who probably was a good and well-meaning man) to be inſpired in his comment on the Apocalypſe, an abridgment of which was now printed, and called Mr. Brightman's *Revelation of the Revelation*. And though he was groſsly miſtaken in other things, yet, becauſe he had made the Churches of Geneva and Scotland, which had no Biſhops, to be Philadelphia in the Apocalypſe, *the angel that God loved*; and the power of Prelacy to be Antichriſt, the evil angel, which the Houſe of Commons had now ſo ſpewed up, as never to recover their dignity; therefore did thoſe Covenanters approve and applaud Mr. Brightman for diſcovering and foretelling the Biſhops' downfal; ſo that they both railed at them, and rejoiced to buy good pennyworths of their land, which their friends of the Houſe of Commons did afford them as a reward of their diligent aſſiſtance to pull them down.

And the Biſhops' power being now vacated,

the common people were made ha
py, as every parish might choose their
minister, and tell him when he did;
when he did not, preach true doc-
e: and by this and like means several
ches had several teachers, that prayed
preached for and against one another;
engaged their hearers to contend
ously for truths which they understood
; some of which I shall mention in
discourse that follows.

have heard of two men, that in their
ourse undertook to give a character of
hird person; and one concluded he
a very honest man, "for he was be-
olden to him;" and the other, that he
not, "for he was not beholden to
im." And something like this was in
designs both of the Covenanters and
ependents, the last of which were
grown both as numerous and as
erful as the former: for though they
ered much in many principles, and
ched against each other, one making
sign of being in the state of grace, if
were but zealous for the Covenant;

and the other, that we ought to buy and ſell by a meaſure, and to allow the ſame liberty of conſcience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourſelves; and therefore not to force any to ſwear the Covenant contrary to their conſciences, and loſe both their livings and liberties too. Though theſe differed thus in their concluſions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down Common Prayer, and get into the beſt ſequeſtered livings; and, whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the leaſt ſcruple of conſcience.

They alſo made other ſtrange obſervations of Election, Reprobation, and Free Will, and the other points dependent upon theſe; ſuch as the wiſeſt of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am ſure I am not; though I muſt mention ſome of them hiſtorically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderſon at Boothby Pannel.

And in the way thither I muſt tell him, that a very Covenanter, and a Scot too, that

that came into England with this unhappy Covenant, was got into a good ſequeſtered living by the help of a Preſbyterian pariſh, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch Preſbyterian, being well ſettled in this good living, began to reform the church-yard, by cutting down a large yew-tree, and ſome other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a ſhelter to the pariſhioners; who excepting againſt him for ſo doing, were anſwered, "That the trees were his, and it "was lawful for every man to uſe his own "as he, and not as they, thought fit." I have heard, (but do not affirm it,) that no action lies againſt him that is ſo wicked as to ſteal the winding-ſheet of a dead body after it is buried; and have heard the reaſon to be, becauſe none were ſuppoſed to be ſo void of humanity; and that ſuch a law would vilify that nation that would but ſuppoſe ſo vile a man to be born in it: nor would one ſuppoſe any man to do what this Covenanter did. And whether there were any law againſt him, I

know not; but pity the pariſh the leſs for turning out their legal miniſter.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderſon at Boothby pariſh, where he hoped to have enjoyed himſelf, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and deſired privacy; but it proved otherwiſe; for all corners of the nation were filled with Covenanters, confuſion, committee-men, and ſoldiers, ſerving each other to their ſeveral ends, of revenge, or power, or profit; and theſe committee-men and ſoldiers were moſt of them ſo poſſeſſed with this Covenant, that they became like thoſe that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciouſly reſtleſs to get into company, and to joy, (ſo the Hiſtorian [a] ſaith,) when they had infected others, even thoſe of their moſt beloved or neareſt friends or relations: and though there might be ſome of theſe Covenanters that were beguiled, and meant well; yet ſuch were the generality of them, and temper of the

[a] Thucydides.

times,

times, that you may be ſure Dr. Sanderſon, who though quiet and harmleſs, yet an eminent diſſenter from them, could not live peaceably; nor did he; for the ſoldiers would appear, and viſibly diſturb him in the church when he read prayers, pretending to adviſe him how God was to be ſerved moſt acceptably: which he not approving, but continuing to obſerve order and decent behaviour in reading the church-ſervice, they forced his book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers.

At this time he was adviſed by a Parliament man of power and note, that loved and valued him much, not to be ſtrict in reading all the Common Prayer, but make ſome little variation, eſpecially if the ſoldiers came to watch him; for then it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to ſecure him from taking the Covenant, or ſequeſtration: for which reaſons he did vary ſomewhat from the ſtrict rules of the Rubric. I will ſet down the very words of confeſſion which he uſed, as I have it under his own hand; and

and tell the reader, that all his other variations were as little, and much like to this.

HIS CONFESSION.

" O Almighty God and merciful Fa-
" ther, we thy unworthy ſervants do with
" ſhame and ſorrow confeſs, that we have
" all our life long gone aſtray out of thy
" ways like loſt ſheep; and that, by fol-
" lowing too much the vain devices and
" deſires of our own hearts, we have
" grievouſly offended againſt thy holy
" laws, both in thought, word, and deed;
" we have many times left undone thoſe
" good duties, which we might and ought
" to have done; and we have many times
" done thoſe evils, when we might have
" avoided them, which we ought not to
" have done. We confeſs, O Lord, that
" there is no health at all, nor help in any
" creature to relieve us; but all our hope
" is in thy mercy, whoſe juſtice we have
" by our ſins ſo far provoked. Have mercy
" therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy
" upon us miſerable offenders: ſpare us,
" good God, who confeſs our faults, that
" we

"we periſh not; but, according to thy "gracious promiſes declared unto man-"kind in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, reſtore "us upon our true repentance into thy "grace and favour. And grant, O moſt "merciful father, for his ſake, that we "henceforth ſtudy to ſerve and pleaſe "thee by leading a godly, righteous, and "a ſober life, to the glory of thy holy "name, and the eternal comfort of our "own ſouls, through Jeſus Chriſt our "Lord. Amen."

In theſe diſturbances of tearing his ſervice-book, a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the evening-ſervice was ended, to viſit and condole with him for the affront offered by the ſoldiers. To whom he ſpake with a compoſed patience, and ſaid; "God hath reſtored me to my deſired "privacy, with my wife and children; "where I hoped to have met with quiet-"neſs, and it proves not ſo: but I will "labour to be pleaſed, becauſe God, on "whom I depend, ſees it is not fit for me "to be quiet. I praiſe him, that he hath

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"by his grace prevented me from making "ſhipwreck of a good conſcience to main- "tain me in a place of great reputation "and profit: and though my condition "be ſuch, that I need the laſt, yet I ſub- "mit; for God did not ſend me into this "world to do my own, but ſuffer his will, "and I will obey it." Thus by a ſublime depending on his wiſe, and powerful, and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully ſubmit to what God had appointed, juſtifying the truth of that doctrine which he had preached.

About this time that excellent book of *The King's Meditations in his Solitude* was printed, and made public: and Dr. Sanderſon was ſuch a lover of the Author, and ſo deſirous that the whole world ſhould ſee the character of him in that book, and ſomething of the cauſe for which they ſuffered, that he deſigned to turn it into Latin: but when he had done half of it moſt excellently, his friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done the whole very well before him.

About this time his dear and moſt intimate

mate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a converſation and reſt with him for ſome days; and did ſo. And having formerly perſuaded him to truſt his excellent memory, and not read, but try to ſpeak a ſermon as he had writ it; Dr. Sanderſon became ſo compliant, as to promiſe he would. And to that end they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbour miniſter, and requeſted to exchange a ſermon; and they did ſo. And at Dr. Sanderſon's going into the pulpit, he gave his ſermon (which was a very ſhort one) into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was writ: but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond (looking on his ſermon as written) obſerved him to be out, and ſo loſt as to the matter, that he alſo became afraid for him; for it was diſcernible to many of the plain auditory. But when he had ended this ſhort ſermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderſon ſaid with much earneſtneſs, "Good "Doctor, give me my ſermon; and know, "that neither you, nor any man living, "ſhall

"ſhall ever perſuade me to preach again "without my books." To which the reply was, "Good Doctor, be not angry; "for if I ever perſuade you to preach "again without book, I will give you "leave to burn all thoſe that I am maſter "of."

Part of the occaſion of Dr. Hammond's viſit was at this time to diſcourſe Dr. Sanderſon about ſome opinions, in which, if they did not then, they had doubtleſs differed formerly; it was about thoſe knotty points, which are by the learned called the *Quinquarticular Controverſy*; of which I ſhall proceed, not to give any judgment, (I pretend not to that,) but ſome ſhort hiſtorical account which ſhall follow.

There had been, ſince the unhappy Covenant was brought and ſo generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers (thoſe of London eſpecially) to preach and be too poſitive in the points of Univerſal Redemption, Predeſtination, and thoſe other depending upon theſe. Some of which preached, "That "all men were, before they came into "this

"this world, ſo predeſtinated to ſalvation "or damnation, that it was not in their "power to ſin ſo, as to loſe the firſt, nor "by their moſt diligent endeavour to "avoid the latter." Others, "That it "was not ſo; becauſe then God could "not be ſaid to grieve for the death of a "ſinner, when he himſelf had made him "ſo by an inevitable decree, before he "had ſo much as a being in this world;" affirming therefore, "that man had ſome "power left him to do the will of God, "becauſe he was adviſed to work out his "ſalvation with fear and trembling;" maintaining, "that it is moſt certain, "every man can do what he can to be "ſaved; and that he that does what he "can to be ſaved, ſhall never be damned." And yet many that affirmed this would confeſs, "That that grace, which is but "a perſuaſive offer, and left to us to re-"ceive or refuſe, is not that grace which "ſhall bring men to heaven." Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon theſe or the like occaſions come to be ſearched into,

and

and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderſon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, (the now Reverend Dean of Saliſbury,) of which I ſhall proceed to give ſome account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the fifty-two London miniſters (then a fraternity of Sion College in that city) had in a printed declaration aſperſed Dr. Hammond moſt heinouſly, for that he had in his *Practical Catechiſm* affirmed, "that our Saviour died "for the ſins of all mankind." To juſtify which truth, he preſently makes a charitable reply (as it is now printed in his works.) After which there were many letters paſſed betwixt the ſaid Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderſon, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderſon was with much unwillingneſs drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneaſy to him, who in his judgment of God's decrees differed with Dr. Hammond, (whom he reverenced and loved dearly,) and would not therefore engage him into a controverſy, of which he could never hope to ſee an end:

but

it they did all enter into a charitable ſquiſition of theſe ſaid points in ſeveral tters, to the full ſatisfaction of the arned; thoſe betwixt Dr. Sanderſon and r. Hammond being printed in his works; id for what paſſed betwixt him and the arned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to letter annexed to the end of this rela-on.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sander-n was by theſe debates altered from hat it was at his entrance into them; r in the year 1632, when his excellent rmons were firſt printed in quarto, the ader may on the margin find ſome accu-tion of Arminius for falſe doctrine; and id that, upon a review and reprinting oſe ſermons in folio in the year 1657, at accuſation of Arminius is omitted. nd the change of his judgment ſeems ore fully to appear in his ſaid letter to r. Pierce. And let me now tell the ader, which may ſeem to be perplexed ith theſe ſeveral affirmations of God's ecrees before mentioned, that Dr. Ham-nond, in a poſtſcript to the laſt letter of

Dr. Sanderſon's, ſays, "God can reconcile "his own contradictions, and therefore "adviſes all men, as the Apoſtle does, to "ſtudy mortification, and be wiſe to ſo- "briety." And let me add further, that if theſe fifty-two Miniſters of Sion College were the occaſion of the debates in theſe letters, they have, I think, been the occaſion of giving an end to the *Quinquarticular Controverſy*; for none have ſince undertaken to ſay more; but ſeem to be ſo wiſe, as to be content to be ignorant of the reſt, till they come to that place, where the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader alſo, that if the reſt of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderſon, not conceal their alteration of judgment, but confeſs it to the honour of God and themſelves, then our nation would become freer from pertinacious diſputes, and fuller of recantations.

I cannot lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderſon where we left them at Boothby Pannel, till I have looked back to the Long Parliament, the Society of Covenanters in Sion College, and

and thoſe others ſcattered up and down in London, and given ſome account of their proceedings and uſage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And though I will forbear to mention the injuſtice of his death, and the barbarous uſage of him, both then and before it; yet my deſire is, that what follows may be noted, becauſe it does now, or may hereafter, concern us; namely, that in his laſt ſad ſermon on the ſcaffold at his death, he having freely pardoned all his enemies, and humbly begged of God to pardon them, and beſought thoſe preſent to pardon and pray for him; yet he ſeemed to accuſe the magiſtrates of the city, for ſuffering a ſort of wretched people, that could not know why he was condemned, to go viſibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, "that the "Parliament would haſten his execu-"tion." And having declared how unjuſtly he thought himſelf to be condemned, and accuſed for endeavouring to bring in Popery, (for that was one of the accuſations for which he died,) he declared

with ſadneſs, " That the ſeveral ſects and " diviſions then in England" (which he had laboured to prevent) " were like to " bring the Pope a far greater harveſt, " than he could ever have expected with- " out them." And ſaid, " Theſe ſects " and diviſions introduce profaneneſs un- " der the cloak of an imaginary reli- " gion;" and " that we have loſt the ſub- " ſtance of religion by changing it into " opinion; and that by theſe means this " Church, which all the Jeſuits' machina- " tions could not ruin, was fallen into ap- " parent danger by thoſe which were his " accuſers." To this purpoſe he ſpoke at his death: for this, and more of which, the reader may view his laſt ſad ſermon on the ſcaffold. And it is here mention- ed, becauſe his dear friend Dr. Sanderſon ſeems to demonſtrate the ſame in his two large and remarkable prefaces before his two volumes of ſermons; and ſeems alſo with much ſorrow to ſay the ſame again in his laſt will, made when he apprehended himſelf to be very near his death. And theſe Covenanters ought to take notice of it,

t, and to remember, that, by the late wicked war begun by them, Dr. Sanderſon was ejected out of the Profeſſor's chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it, (for he lived fourteen years after,) both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable caſes of conſcience, ſo rationally ſtated, and ſo briefly, ſo clearly, and ſo convincingly determined, that poſterity might have joyed and boaſted, that Dr. Sanderſon was born in this nation, for the eaſe and benefit of all the learned that ſhall be born after him: but this benefit is ſo like time paſt, that they are both irrecoverably loſt.

I ſhould now return to Boothby Pannel, where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderſon together; but neither can be found there: for the firſt was in his journey to London, and the ſecond ſeized upon the day after his friend's departure, and carried priſoner to Lincoln, then a garriſon of the Parliament's. For the pretended reaſon of which commitment, I ſhall give this following account.

There was one Mr. Clarke, the miniſter of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannel, who was an active man for the Parliament and Covenant; one that, when Belvoir Caſtle (then a garriſon for the Parliament) was taken by a party of the King's ſoldiers, was taken in it, and made a priſoner of war in Newark, then a garriſon of the King's; a man ſo active and uſeful for his party, that they became ſo much concerned for his enlargement, that the committee of Lincoln ſent a troop of horſe to ſeize and bring Dr. Sanderſon a priſoner to that garriſon; and they did ſo. And there he had the happineſs to meet with many, that knew him ſo well as to treat him kindly; but told him, "He muſt continue their priſoner, "till he ſhould purchaſe his own enlarge-"ment by procuring an exchange for Mr. "Clarke, then priſoner in the King's gar-"riſon of Newark." There were many reaſons given by the Doctor of the injuſtice of his impriſonment, and the inequality of the exchange; but all were uneffectual; for done it muſt be, or he continue a pri-

a priſoner. And in time done it was, upon the following conditions.

Firſt, that Dr. Sanderſon and Mr. Clarke being exchanged ſhould live undiſturbed at their own pariſhes; and if either were injured by the ſoldiers of the contrary party, the other, having notice of it, ſhould procure him a redreſs, by having ſatisfaction made for his loſs, or for any other injury; or if not, he to be uſed in the ſame kind by the other party. Nevertheleſs, Dr. Sanderſon could neither live ſafe nor quietly, being ſeveral times plundered, and once wounded in three places: but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burden by impatience or complaining, forbore both; and poſſeſſed his ſoul in a contented quietneſs, without the leaſt repining. But though he could not enjoy the ſafety he expected by this exchange, yet, by his Providence that can bring good out of evil, it turned ſo much to his advantage, that whereas his living had been ſequeſtered from the year 1644, and continued to be ſo till this time of his impriſonment, he, by the arti-

cles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his ſequeſtration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor but contented ſubſiſtence for himſelf, wife, and children, till the happy reſtoration of our King and Church.

In this time of his poor but contented privacy of life, his caſuiſtical learning, peaceful moderation, and ſincerity, became ſo remarkable, that there were many that applied themſelves to him for reſolution in caſes of conſcience; ſome known to him, many not; ſome requiring ſatisfaction by conference, others by letters; ſo many, that his life became almoſt as reſtleſs as their minds; yet he denied no man: and if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert ſays, "That all worldly joys ſeem leſs, "when compared with ſhewing mercy or "doing kindneſſes;" then doubtleſs Dr. Sanderſon might have boaſted for relieving ſo many reſtleſs and wounded conſciences; which, as Solomon ſays, "are a "burden that none can bear," though their fortitude may ſuſtain their other infirmities: and if words cannot expreſs the joy

joy of a conſcience relieved from ſuch reſtleſs agonies; then Dr. Sanderſon might rejoice that ſo many were by him ſo clearly and conſcientiouſly ſatisfied; for he denied none, and would often praiſe God for that ability, and as often for the occaſion, and that God had inclined his heart to do it to the meaneſt of any of thoſe poor but precious ſouls, for which his Saviour vouchſafed to be crucified.

Some of thoſe very many caſes that were reſolved by letters have been preſerved and printed for the benefit of poſterity; as namely,

1. Of the Sabbath.
2. Marrying with a Recuſant.
3. Of unlawful love.
4. Of a military life.
5. Of ſcandal.
6. Of a bond taken in the King's name.
7. Of the engagement.
8. Of a raſh vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of Simony; and I wiſh the world might ſee it, that it might undeceive

deceive ſome patrons, who think they have diſcharged that great and dangerous truſt, both to God and man, if they take no money for a living, though it may be parted with for other ends leſs juſtifiable.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown giddy by the many falſehoods and miſapplications of truths frequently vented in ſermons; when they wreſted the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon him in their prayers to patronize their ſacrilege and zealous frenzies; in this time he did ſo compaſſionate the generality of this miſled nation, that though the times threatened danger, yet he then hazarded his ſafety by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his laſt twenty ſermons; (firſt printed in the year 1655;) in which there was ſuch ſtrength of reaſon, with ſo powerful and clear convincing applications made to the Nonconformiſts, as being read by one of thoſe diſſenting brethren, who was poſſeſſed with ſuch a ſpirit of contradiction, as being neither able to defend

fend his error, nor yield to truth manifeſt, (his conſcience having ſlept long and quietly in a good ſequeſtered living,) was yet at the reading of it ſo awakened, that after a conflict with the reaſon he had met, and the damage he was to ſuſtain if he conſented to it, (and being ſtill unwilling to be ſo convinced, as to loſe by being over-reaſoned,) he went in haſte to the bookſeller of whom it was bought, threatened him, and told him in anger, "he "had ſold a book in which there was falſe "divinity; and that the preface had up-"braided the Parliament, and many godly "miniſters of that party, for unjuſt deal-"ing." To which his reply was, (it was Tim. Garthwaite,) "That it was not his "trade to judge of true or falſe divinity, "but to print and ſell books: and yet if "he, or any friend of his, would write an "anſwer to it, and own it by ſetting his "name to it, he would print the anſwer, "and promote the ſelling of it."

About the time of his printing this excellent preface, I met him accidentally in London, in ſad coloured clothes, and,

God

God knows. far from being coſtly. The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand. We had no inclination to part preſently, and therefore turned to ſtand in a corner under a penthouſe, (for it began to rain,) and immediately the wind roſe, and the rain increaſed ſo much, that both became ſo inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly houſe, where we had bread, cheeſe, ale, and a fire, for our money. This rain and wind were ſo obliging to me, as to force our ſtay there for at leaſt an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many uſeful obſervations with much clearneſs and conſcientious freedom. I ſhall relate a part of them, in hope they may alſo turn to the advantage of my reader. He ſeemed to lament, that the Parliament had taken upon them to aboliſh our Liturgy, to the ſcandal of ſo many devout and learned men, and the diſgrace of thoſe many martyrs, who had ſealed the truth and uſe of it with their blood: and that no miniſter

was

was now thought godly that did not decry it, and at leaſt pretend to make better prayers *ex tempore:* and that they, and only they, that could do ſo, prayed by the Spirit, and were godly; though in their ſermons they diſputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did diſlike this, ſo he did moſt highly commend the Common Prayer of the Church, ſaying, "the Collects "were the moſt paſſionate, proper, and "moſt elegant expreſſions that any lan-"guage ever afforded; and that there "was in them ſuch piety, and that ſo in-"terwoven with inſtructions, that they "taught us to know the power, the wiſ-"dom, the majeſty, and mercy of God, "and much of our duty both to him and "our neighbour; and that a congrega-"tion, behaving themſelves reverently, "and putting up to God theſe joint and "known deſires for pardon of ſins, and "praiſes for mercies received, could not "but be more pleaſing to God, than thoſe "raw, unpremeditated expreſſions, to

"which

" which many of the hearers could not " ſay, Amen."

And he then commended to me the frequent uſe of the Pſalter, or Pſalms of David; ſpeaking to this purpoſe: " That " they were the treaſury of Chriſtian com- " fort, fitted for all perſons and all neceſ- " ſities; able to raiſe the ſoul from de- " jection by the frequent mention of " God's mercies to repentant ſinners; to " ſtir up holy deſires; to increaſe joy; to " moderate ſorrow; to nouriſh hope, and " teach us patience, by waiting God's lei- " ſure; to beget a truſt in the mercy, " power, and providence of our Creator; " and to cauſe a reſignation of ourſelves to " his will; and then, and not till then, to " believe ourſelves happy." This he ſaid the Liturgy and Pſalms taught us; and that by the frequent uſe of the laſt they would not only prove to be our ſouls' comfort, but would become ſo habitual, as to transform them into the image of his ſoul that compoſed them. After this manner he expreſſed himſelf concerning the Liturgy

turgy and Pſalms; and ſeemed to lament that this, which was the devotion of the more primitive times, ſhould in common pulpits be turned into needleſs debates about Free-will, Election, and Reprobation, of which, and many like queſtions, we may be ſafely ignorant, becauſe Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard queſtions, but by meekneſs and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he ſeemed to lament very much, that, by the means of irregular and indiſcreet preaching, the generality of the nation were poſſeſſed with ſuch dangerous miſtakes, as to think, "they might be re-"ligious firſt, and then juſt and merciful; "that they might ſell their conſciences, "and yet have ſomething left that was "worth keeping; that they might be "ſure they were elected, though their "lives were viſibly ſcandalous; that to be "cunning was to be wiſe; that to be rich "was to be happy, though their wealth "was got without juſtice or mercy; that "to be buſy in things they underſtood "not,

" not, was no ſin." Theſe and the like miſtakes he lamented much, and beſought God to remove them, and reſtore us to that humility, ſincerity, and ſingle-heartedneſs, with which this nation was bleſſed, before the unhappy Covenant was brought into the nation, and every man preached and prayed what ſeemed beſt in his own eyes. And he then ſaid to me, " That " the way to reſtore this nation to a more " meek and chriſtian temper, was to have " the body of divinity (or ſo much of it " as was needful to be known) to be put " into fifty-two homilies or ſermons, of " ſuch a length as not to exceed a third " or fourth part of an hour's reading; and " theſe needful points to be made ſo clear " and plain, that thoſe of a mean capaci- " ty might know what was neceſſary to " be believed, and what God requires to " be done; and then ſome applications of " trial and conviction: and theſe to be " read every Sunday of the year, as infal- " libly as the blood circulates the body; " and then as certainly begun again, and " continued the year following: and that

" this

"this being done, it might probably abate "the inordinate deſire of knowing what "we need not, and practiſing what we "know, and ought to do." This was the earneſt deſire of this prudent man. And O that Dr. Sanderſon had undertaken it! for then in all probability it would have proved effectual.

At this happy time of enjoying his company and this diſcourſe, he expreſſed a ſorrow by ſaying to me, "O that I had "gone chaplain to that excellently ac- "compliſhed gentleman, your friend, Sir "Henry Wotton! which was once in- "tended, when he firſt went Ambaſſador "to the ſtate of Venice: for by that "employment I had been forced into a "neceſſity of converſing, not with him "only, but with ſeveral men of ſeveral "nations; and might thereby have kept "myſelf from my unmanly baſhfulneſs, "which has proved very troubleſome, and "not leſs inconvenient to me; and which "I now fear is become ſo habitual as "never to leave me: and by that means "I might alſo have known, or at leaſt

" have had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing, one
" of the late miracles of general learning,
" prudence, and modeſty, Sir Henry Wot-
" ton's dear friend, Padria Paulo, who,
" the author of his life ſays, was born
" with a baſhfulneſs as invincible as I
" have found my own to be: a man whoſe
" fame muſt never die, till virtue and
" learning ſhall become ſo uſeleſs as not to
" be regarded."

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hour's converſation: and I gladly remember and mention it, as an argument of my happineſs, and his great humility and condeſcenſion. I had alſo a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am deſirous to impart in this place to the reader. He lamented much, that in many pariſhes, where the maintenance was not great, there was no miniſter to officiate; and that many of the beſt ſequeſtered livings were poſſeſſed with ſuch rigid Covenanters as denied the Sacrament to their pariſhioners, unleſs upon ſuch conditions, and in ſuch a manner, as they could not take it. This

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ıentioned with much ſorrow, ſaying, ıe bleſſed Sacrament did, by way of eparation for it, give occaſion to all nſcientious receivers to examine the rformance of their vows, ſince they ɔeived their laſt ſeal for the pardon of eir ſins paſt; and to examine and re-ırch their hearts, and make penitent lections on their failings; and, that ne, to bewail them, and then make w vows or reſolutions to obey all ɔd's commands, and beg his grace to rform them. And this done, the Sa-ıment repairs the decays of grace, lps us to conquer infirmities, gives us ıce to beg God's grace, and then ɛs us what we beg; makes us ſtill nger and thirſt after his righteouſneſs, ıich we then receive, and being af-ed with our endeavours, will ſtill ſo ell in us, as to become our ſatisfac-ı in this life, and our comfort on laſt ſick beds." The want of this d benefit he lamented much, and pi-heir condition that deſired, but could btain it.

I hope I ſhall not diſoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his perſon and temper. As firſt, that he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comelineſs, and very little, yet enough, of ceremony or courtſhip; his looks and motion manifeſted affability and mildneſs, and yet he had with theſe a calm, but ſo matchleſs a fortitude, as ſecured him from complying with any of thoſe many Parliament injunctions, that interfered with a doubtful conſcience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wiſdom uſeful, his integrity viſible, and his whole life ſo unſpotted, that all ought to be preſerved as copies for poſterity to write after; the Clergy eſpecially, who with impure hands ought not to offer ſacrifice to that God, whoſe pure eyes abhor iniquity.

There was in his ſermons no improper rhetoric, nor ſuch perplexed diviſions, as may be ſaid to be like too much light, that ſo dazzles the eyes, that the ſight becomes leſs perfect: but there was therein no want of uſeful matter,

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nor waſte of words; and yet ſuch clear diſtinctions as diſpelled all confuſed notions, and made his hearers depart both wiſer, and more confirmed in virtuous reſolutions.

His memory was ſo matchleſs and firm, as it was only overcome by his baſhfulneſs; for he alone, or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Perſius, without book; and would ſay, "the re-"petition of one of the Odes of Horace "to himſelf was to him ſuch muſic, as a "leſſon on the viol was to others, when "they played it to themſelves or friends." And though he was bleſt with a clearer judgment than other men; yet he was ſo diſtruſtful of it, that he did over-conſider of conſequences, and would ſo delay and re-conſider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet, when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his divinity lectures in Oxford, and all the ſcholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, reſolved

and writ what he meant to determine; ſo that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend Dr. Sheldon would often ſay, namely, "That his judgment was "ſo much ſuperior to his fancy, that what-"ſoever this ſuggeſted, that diſliked and "controlled; ſtill conſidering and recon-"ſidering, till his time was ſo waſted, that "he was forced to write, not, probably, "what was beſt, but what he thought laſt." And yet what he did then read, appeared to all hearers to be ſo uſeful, clear, and ſatisfactory, as none ever determined with greater applauſe. Theſe tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him an averſeneſs to enter into the toil of conſidering and determining all caſuiſtical points; becauſe during that time they neither gave reſt to his body or mind. But though he would not be always loaden with theſe knotty points and diſtinctions; yet the ſtudy of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, were a recreation, and ſo pleaſing, that he would ſay they gave reſt to his mind. Of the laſt of which I have

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ſeen two remarkable volumes; and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactneſs.

And this humble man had ſo conquered all repining and ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly paſſions, that, if the accidents of the day proved to his danger or damage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undiſturbed quietneſs; always praiſing God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family; nor ſuffered him to violate his conſcience for his ſafety, or to ſupport himſelf or them in a more ſplendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore reſolved with David, *That his praiſe ſhould be always in his mouth.*

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his perſon, his temper, and ſome of the accidents of his life paſt; and more might be added of all: but I will with ſorrow look forward to the ſad days, in which ſo many good men ſuffered, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderſon was in a very low condition as to his eſtate: and in that time

Mr. Robert Boyle (a gentleman of a very noble birth, and more eminent for his liberality, learning, and virtue, and of whom I would ſay much more, but that he ſtill lives) having caſually met with and read his Lectures *de Juramento*, to his great ſatisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderſon's great innocence and ſincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition by his not complying with the Parliament's injunctions, ſent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow (the now learned Biſhop of Lincoln) 50l. and with it a requeſt and promiſe. The requeſt was, That he would review the Lectures *de Conſcientia*, which he had read when he was Doctor of the chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of poſterity; (and this Dr. Sanderſon did in the year 1659.) And the promiſe was, That he would pay him that, or a greater ſum if deſired, during his life, to enable him to pay an amanuenſis, to eaſe him from the trouble of writing what he ſhould conceive or dictate. For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ by the ſaid Dr. Barlow,

low, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the end of this year 1659, when the many mixt ſects, and their creators and mercileſs protectors, had led or driven each other into a whirlpool of confuſion; when amazement and fear had ſeized them, and their accuſing conſciences gave them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the god which they had long ſerved was now ready to pay them ſuch wages, as he does always reward witches with for their obeying him; when theſe wretches were come to foreſee an end of their cruel reign, by our King's return, and ſuch ſufferers as Dr. Sanderſon (and with him many of the oppreſſed Clergy and others) could foreſee the cloud of their afflictions would be diſperſed by it; then, in the beginning of the year following, the King was by God reſtored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and a general joy and peace ſeemed to breathe through the three nations. Then were the ſuffering Clergy freed from their ſequeſtration, reſtored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praiſe,

praiſe, and pray to God in ſuch order as their conſciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will eaſily believe that Dr. Sanderſon and his dejected family rejoiced to ſee this day, and be of this number.

It ought to be conſidered (which I have often heard or read) that in the primitive times men of learning and virtue were uſually ſought for, and ſolicited to accept of epiſcopal government, and often refuſed it. For they conſcientiouſly conſidered, that the office of a Biſhop was made up of labour and care; that they were truſted to be God's almoners of the Church's revenue, and double their care for the poor; to live ſtrictly themſelves, and uſe all diligence to ſee that their family, officers, and clergy did ſo; and that the account of that ſtewardſhip muſt at the laſt dreadful day be made to the Searcher of all hearts: and that in the primitive times they were therefore timorous to undertake it. It may not be ſaid, that Dr. Sanderſon was accompliſhed with theſe, and all the other requiſites required

quired in a Biſhop, ſo as to be able to anſwer them exactly: but it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of ſeventy-three years (for he was ſo old at the King's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man, than are apparent in others in theſe days, in which, God knows, we fall ſo ſhort of that viſible ſanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Chriſtianity. This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I ſhall ſay more of Dr. Sanderſon; and namely, that, at the King's return, Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Biſhop of Canterbury, (than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderſon more or better,) was by his Majeſty made a chief truſtee to commend to him fit men to ſupply the then vacant biſhoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderſon, and therefore humbly deſired the King that he would nominate him: and, that done, he did as humbly deſire Dr. Sanderſon that he would, for God's and the Church's ſake, take that charge and care upon him. Dr. Sanderſon had, if not

not an unwillingneſs, certainly no forwardneſs to undertake it; and would often ſay, "he had not led himſelf, but his friend "would now lead him into a temptation, "which he had daily prayed againſt; and "beſought God, if he did undertake it, "ſo to aſſiſt him with his grace, that the "example of his life, his cares and endeavours, might promote his glory, and "help forward the ſalvation of others."

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his biſhopric; and am next to tell, that he was conſecrated Biſhop of Lincoln at Weſtminſter the 28th of October, 1660.

There was about this time a Chriſtian care taken, that thoſe whoſe conſciences were, as they ſaid, tender, and could not comply with the ſervice and ceremonies of the Church, might have ſatisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a ſelect number of them, and ſome like number of thoſe that had been ſufferers for the Church ſervice and ceremonies, and now reſtored to liberty; of which laſt ſome were then preferred to power and dignity

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in the Church. And of theſe Biſhop Sanderſon was one, and then choſe to be a moderator in that debate: and he performed his truſt with much mildneſs, patience, and reaſon; but all proved ineffectual: for there be ſome prepoſſeſſions like jealouſies, which, though cauſeleſs, yet cannot be removed by reaſons as apparent as demonſtration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy in the Strand: and the points debated were, I think, many; ſome affirmed to be truth and reaſon, ſome denied to be either; and theſe debates being then in words, proved to be ſo looſe and perplexed, as ſatisfied neither party. For ſometime that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot or denied, and ſo no ſatisfaction given to either party. But that the debate might become more uſeful, it was therefore reſolved, that the day following the deſires and reaſons of the Nonconformiſts ſhould be given in writing, and they in writing receive anſwers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the

points

points debated, nor the names of the diſſenting brethren; yet I am ſure Mr. Baxter was one, and am ſure what ſhall now follow was one of the points debated.

Concerning a command of lawful ſuperiors, what was ſufficient to its being a lawful command; this propoſition was brought by the conforming party.

"That command which commands an "act in itſelf lawful, and no other act or "circumſtance unlawful, is not ſinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reaſons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing, thus:

One was, "Becauſe that may be a ſin "*per accidens*, which is not ſo in itſelf, "and may be unlawfully commanded, "though that accident be not in the "command." Another was, "That it "may be commanded under an unjuſt "penalty."

Again, this propoſition being brought by the Conformiſts, "That command "which commandeth an act in itſelf law-"ful, and no other act whereby any un-"juſt penalty is enjoined, nor any circum-

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"ſtance whence *per accidens* any ſin is
" conſequent which the commander ought
" to provide againſt, is not ſinful."

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reaſon, then given in with his own hand in writing, thus: " Becauſe the firſt act com-
" manded may be *per accidens* unlawful,
" and be commanded by an unjuſt penalty,
" though no other act or circumſtance
" commanded be ſuch."

Again, this propoſition being brought by the Conformiſts, " That command
" which commandeth an act in itſelf law-
" ful, and no other act whereby any un-
" juſt penalty is enjoined, nor any circum-
" ſtance whence directly, or *per accidens*,
" any ſin is conſequent, which the com-
" mander ought to provide againſt, hath
" in it all things requiſite to the lawful-
" neſs of a command, and particularly can-
" not be guilty of commanding an act
" *per accidens* unlawful, nor of command-
" ing an act under an unjuſt penalty."

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the ſame reaſons.

PETER GUNNING.
JOHN PEARSON.

Theſe were then two of the diſputants, ſtill alive, and will atteſt this; one being now Lord Biſhop of Ely, and the other of Cheſter. And the laſt of them told me very lately, that one of the Diſſenters (which I could, but forbear to name) appeared to Dr. Sanderſon to be ſo bold, ſo troubleſome, and ſo illogical in the diſpute, as forced patient Dr. Sanderſon (who was then Biſhop of Lincoln, and a moderator with other biſhops) to ſay, with an unuſual earneſtneſs, "That he had "never met with a man of more pertina-"cious confidence, and leſs abilities, in all "his converſation."

But though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great ſatisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the deſires, and underſtood the abilities, of the other, much better than before it: and the late diſtreſſed Clergy, that were now reſtored to their former rights and power, did at their next meeting in convocation contrive to give the diſſenting party ſatisfaction by alteration, explanation, and addition to ſome part both of the Rubric and Common-Prayer, as alſo by adding

adding ſome new neceſſary collects, and a particular collect of thankſgiving. How many of thoſe new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderſon, I cannot ſay; but am ſure the whole Convocation valued him ſo much, that he never undertook to ſpeak to any point in queſtion, but he was heard with great willingneſs and attention; and when any point in queſtion was determined, the Convocation did uſually deſire him to word their intentions, and as uſually approve and thank him.

At this Convocation the Common Prayer was made more complete, by adding three new neceſſary offices; which were, "A "Form of Humiliation for the Murder "of King Charles the Martyr;" "A "Thankſgiving for the Reſtoration of his "Son our King;" and "For the Baptizing "of Perſons of riper Age." I cannot ſay Dr. Sanderſon did form or word them all, but doubtleſs more than any ſingle man of the Convocation; and he did alſo, by deſire of the Convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be uſed at ſea (now taken into the Service-Book.) And

it may be noted, that William, the now Right Reverend Biſhop of Canterbury, was in theſe employments diligently uſeful, eſpecially in helping to rectify the Calendar and Rubric. And laſtly, it may be noted, that for the ſatisfying all the diſſenting brethren and others, the Convocation's reaſons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them deſired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderſon; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be known by this title,—"The Preface;" and begins thus—"It hath been the wiſdom of the "Church—."

I ſhall now follow him to his biſhopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that buſy and weighty employment. And firſt, that it was with ſuch condeſcenſion and obligingneſs to the meaneſt of his Clergy, as to know and be known to them. And indeed he practiſed the like to all men of what degree ſoever, eſpecially to his old neighbours or pariſhioners of Boothby Pannel; for there was all joy at his table, when

hen they came to viſit him: then they ayed for him, and he for them, with an ıfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denied, but that ıe care and toil required of a Biſhop may ſtly challenge the riches and revenue, ith which their predeceſſors had law-ılly endowed them; and yet he ſought ot that ſo much, as doing good both to ıe preſent age and poſterity; and he ade this appear by what follows.

The Biſhop's chief houſe at Bugden, the county of Huntington, the uſual ſidence of his predeceſſors, (for it ſtands out the midſt of his dioceſe,) having en at his conſecration a great part of it molished, and what was left ſtanding ıder a viſible decay, was by him under-ken to be erected and repaired; and it as performed with great ſpeed, care, and ıarge. And to this may be added, that ıe King having by an injunction com-ended to the care of the Biſhops, Deans, ıd Prebends of all cathedral churches, the repair of them, their houſes, and augmentation of ſmall vicarages;" he,

when he was repairing Bugden, did alſo augment the laſt, as faſt as fines were paid for renewing leaſes: ſo faſt, that a friend taking notice of his bounty, was ſo bold as to adviſe him to remember, "he was "under his firſt-fruits, and that he was "old, and had a wife and children yet "but meanly provided for, eſpecially if "his dignity were conſidered." To whom he made a mild and thankful anſwer, ſaying, "It would not become a Chriſtian "Biſhop to ſuffer thoſe houſes built by "his predeceſſors to be ruined for want "of repair; and leſs juſtifiable to ſuffer "any of thoſe, that were called to ſo high "a calling as to ſacrifice at God's altar, "to eat the bread of ſorrow conſtantly, "when he had a power by a ſmall aug-"mentation to turn it into the bread of "cheerfulneſs: and wiſhed, that as this "was, ſo it were alſo in his power to "make all mankind happy, for he deſired "nothing more. And for his wife and "children, he hoped to leave them a "competence, and in the hands of a God "that would provide for all that kept in-

"nocence,

ocence, and truſted his providence and rotection, which he had always found nough to make and keep him happy." here was in his dioceſe a miniſter of oft his age, that had been of Lincoln lege when he left it, who viſited him n, and always welcome, becauſe he a man of innocence and open-heart-eſs. This miniſter aſked the Biſhop at books he ſtudied moſt, when he the foundation of his great and clear ning. To which his anſwer was, that declined reading many; but what he read were well choſen, and read ſo n, that he became very familiar with m; and ſaid, they were chiefly three, ſtotle's Rhetoric, Aquinas's Secunda undæ, and Tully, but chiefly his Of-s, which he had not read over leſs n twenty times, and could at this age without book. And told him alſo, the ned Civilian Doctor Zouch (who died ly) had writ Elementa Juriſprudentiæ, ch was a book that he could alſo ſay hout book; and that no wiſe man ld read it too often, or love or com-

mend too much; and told him theſe had been his toil: but for himſelf, he always had a natural love to genealogies and heraldry; and that when his thoughts were haraſſed with any perplexed ſtudies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation; and that his very recreation had made him ſo perfect in them, that he could in a very ſhort time give an account of the deſcent, arms, and antiquity of any family of the nobility or gentry of this nation.

Before I give an account of Dr. Sanderſon's laſt ſickneſs, I deſire to tell the reader, that he was of a healthful conſtitution, cheerful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet, and had had little ſickneſs, till ſome few years before his death; but was then every winter puniſhed with a diarrhœa, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it: and this diſtemper did, as he grew older, ſeize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indiſpoſed than ſick, and did no way diſable

diſable him from ſtudying (indeed too much). In this decay of his ſtrength, but not of his memory or reaſon, (for this diſtemper works not upon the underſtanding,) he made his laſt will, of which I ſhall give ſome account for confirmation of what hath been ſaid, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He did in his laſt will give an account of his faith and perſuaſion in point of religion and church-government, in theſe very words:

"I Robert Sanderſon, Doctor of Divini-
" ty, an unworthy Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt,
" and, by the providence of God, Biſhop
" of Lincoln, being by the long conti-
" nuance of an habitual diſtemper brought
" to a great bodily weakneſs and faintneſs
" of ſpirits, but (by the great mercy of
" God) without any bodily pain other-
" wiſe, or decay of underſtanding, do
" make this my will and teſtament, (writ-
" ten all with my own hand,) revoking
" all former wills by me heretofore made,

" if any ſuch ſhall be found. Firſt, I " commend my ſoul into the hands of " Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator, " which I humbly beſeech him mercifully " to accept, looking upon it, not as it is " in itſelf, (infinitely polluted with ſin,) " but as it is redeemed and purged with " the precious blood of his only beloved " Son, and my moſt ſweet Saviour, Jeſus " Chriſt; in confidence of whoſe merits " and mediation alone it is, that I caſt " myſelf upon the mercy of God for the " pardon of my ſins, and the hopes of eter- " nal life. And here I do profeſs, that as I " have lived, ſo I deſire, and (by the grace " of God) reſolve to die in the commu- " nion of the Catholic Church of Chriſt, " and a true ſon of the Church of Eng- " land; which, as it ſtands by law eſta- " bliſhed, to be both in doctrine and wor- " ſhip agreeable to the word of God, and " in the moſt, and moſt material points " of both, conformable to the faith and " practice of the godly Churches of Chriſt " in the primitive and purer times, I do " firmly believe: led ſo to do, not ſo " much

"much from the force of cuſtom and
"education, (to which the greateſt part
"of mankind owe their particular differ-
"ent perſuaſions in point of religion,) as
"upon the clear evidence of truth and
"reaſon, after a ſerious and unpartial ex-
"amination of the grounds, as well of
"Popery as Puritaniſm, according to that
"meaſure of underſtanding, and thoſe
"opportunities which God hath afforded
"me: and herein I am abundantly ſatiſ-
"fied, that the ſchiſm which the Papiſts
"on the one hand, and the ſuperſtition
"which the Puritan on the other hand, lay
"to our charge, are very juſtly chargeable
"upon themſelves reſpectively. Where-
"fore I humbly beſeech Almighty God,
"the Father of mercies, to preſerve the
"Church by his power and providence,
"in peace, truth, and godlineſs, ever-
"more to the world's end: which doubt-
"leſs he will do, if the wickedneſs and
"ſecurity of a ſinful people (and par-
"ticularly thoſe ſins that are ſo rife, and
"ſeem daily to increaſe among us, of
"unthankfulneſs, riot, and ſacrilege) do
"not

" not tempt his patience to the contrary. " And I alſo farther humbly beſeech him, " that it would pleaſe him to give unto " our gracious Sovereign, the reverend " Biſhops, and the Parliament, timely to " conſider the great danger that viſibly " threatens this Church in point of reli- " gion by the late great increaſe of Po- " pery, and in point of revenue by ſacri- " legious incloſures; and to provide ſuch " wholeſome and effectual remedies, as " may prevent the ſame before it be too " late."

And for a further manifeſtation of his humble thoughts and deſires, they may appear to the reader, by another part of his will which follows.

" As for my corruptible body, I be- " queath it to the earth whence it was " taken, to be decently buried in the " pariſh-church of Bugden, towards the " upper end of the chancel, upon the ſe- " cond, or (at the fartheſt) the third day " after my deceaſe; and that with as little " noiſe, pomp, and charge as may be, " without the invitation of any perſon

" how

" how near ſoever related unto me, other
" than the inhabitants of Bugden; with-
" out the unneceſſary expence of eſcut-
" cheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and with-
" out any blacks to be hung any where in
" or about the houſe or church, other
" than a pulpit-cloth, a hearſe-cloth, and
" a mourning-gown for the preacher;
" whereof the former (after my body
" ſhall be interred) to be given to the
" preacher of the funeral ſermon, and the
" latter to the curate of the pariſh for the
" time being. And my will further is,
" that the funeral ſermon be preached by
" my own houſhold chaplain, containing
" ſome wholeſome diſcourſe concerning
" mortality, the reſurrection of the dead,
" and the laſt judgment; and that he
" ſhall have for his pains 5l. upon con-
" dition, that he ſpeak nothing at all
" concerning my perſon, either good or
" ill, other than I myſelf ſhall direct;
" only ſignifying to the auditory that it
" was my expreſs will to have it ſo. And
" it is my will, that no coſtly monument
" be erected for my memory, but only a
" fair

" fair flat marble ſtone to be laid over
" me, with this inſcription in legible Ro-
" man characters, DEPOSITUM ROBERTI
" SANDERSON NUPER LINCOLNIENSIS
" EPISCOPI, QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI
" MDCLXII. ET ÆTATIS SUÆ SEPTUA-
" GESIMO SEXTO, HIC REQUIESCIT IN
" SPE BEATÆ RESURRECTIONIS. This
" manner of burial, although I cannot but
" foreſee it will prove unſatisfactory to
" ſundry my neareſt friends and relations,
" and be apt to be cenſured by others, as
" an evidence of my too much parſimony
" and narrowneſs of mind, as being alto-
" gether unuſual, and not according to the
" mode of theſe times; yet it is agreeable
" to the ſenſe of my heart, and I do very
" much deſire my will may be carefully
" obſerved herein, hoping it may become
" exemplary to ſome or other: at leaſt
" howſoever teſtifying at my death (what
" I have ſo often and earneſtly profeſſed
" in my life time) my utter diſlike of the
" flatteries commonly uſed in funeral ſer-
" mons, and of the vaſt expences otherwiſe
" laid out in funeral ſolemnities and en-
" tertainments,

"tertainments, with very little benefit to "any, which, if beſtowed in pious and "charitable works, might redound to the "public or private benefit of many per-"ſons."

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January, 1662; and that his body was buried in Bugden the third day after his death; and for the manner, that it was as far from oſtentation as he deſired it; and all the reſt of his will was as punctually performed. And when I have (to his juſt praiſe) told this truth, "That he died far "from being rich," I ſhall return back to viſit, and give a further account of him on his laſt ſick-bed.

His laſt will (of which I have mentioned a part) was made about three weeks before his death; about which time, finding his ſtrength to decay by reaſon of his conſtant infirmity, and a conſumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expreſſing a deſire to enjoy his laſt thoughts to himſelf in private, without diſturbance or care, eſpecially of what might

might concern this world. And that none of his Clergy (which are more numerous than any other Biſhop's) might ſuffer by his retirement, he did by commiſſion impower his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, with epiſcopal power to give inſtitutions to all livings or church-preferments, during this his diſability to do it himſelf. In this time of his retirement he longed for his diſſolution; and when ſome that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, by ſaying, "His friends "ſaid their prayers backward for him: "and that it was not his deſire to live a "uſeleſs life, and by filling up a place "keep another out of it, that might do "God and his Church ſervice." He would often with much joy and thankfulneſs mention, "That during his being "a houſekeeper (which was more than "forty years) there had not been one bu-"ried out of his family, and that he was "now like to be the firſt." He would alſo often mention with thankfulneſs, "That till he was threeſcore years of age,

"he

" he had never ſpent five ſhillings in law,
" nor (upon himſelf) ſo much in wine:
" and rejoiced much that he had ſo lived,
" as never to cauſe an hour's ſorrow to
" his good father; and hoped he ſhould
" die without an enemy."

He in this retirement had the church prayers read in his chamber twice every day; and at nine at night ſome prayers read to him and a part of his family out of *The Whole Duty of Man*. As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his ſtudies and actions, ſo he uſed himſelf to be for his meals. And his dinner being appointed to be conſtantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he expecting and calling for it, was anſwered, " It would
" be ready in a quarter of an hour." To which his reply was, " A quarter of an
" hour! Is a quarter of an hour nothing
" to a man that probably has not many
" hours to live?" And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become ſo weak and weary of either motion

or

or fitting, that he was content, or forced, to keep his bed: in which I desire he may rest, till I have given some account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed, (which was three days before his death,) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the New Jerusalem, took the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of his and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express. After the praise and thanksgiving for it was ended, he spake to this purpose; "Thou, O God, tookest "me out of my mother's womb, and hast "been the powerful protector of me to "this present moment of my life: Thou "hast neither forsaken me now I am be-"come grey-headed, nor suffered me to "forsake thee in the late days of tempta-"tion, and sacrifice my conscience for the

"pre-

" preſervation of my liberty or eſtate. It " was by grace that I have ſtood, when " others have fallen under my trials: and " theſe mercies I now remember with " joy and thankfulneſs; and my hope " and deſire is, that I may die praiſing " thee."

The frequent repetition of the Pſalms of David hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the primitive Chriſtians; the Pſalms having in them not only prayers and holy inſtructions, but ſuch commemorations of God's mercies, as may preſerve comfort, and confirm our dependence on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator. And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy Pſalmiſt ſaid, that *his eyes ſhould prevent both the dawning of the day and the night watches, by meditating on God's word*[a]: ſo it was Dr. Sanderſon's conſtant practice every morning to entertain his firſt waking thoughts with a repetition of thoſe very Pſalms that the Church hath appointed to

[a] Pſalm cxix. 147.

be conſtantly read in the daily morning ſervice; and having at night laid him in his bed, he as conſtantly cloſed his eyes with a repetition of thoſe appointed for the ſervice of the evening, remembering and repeating the very Pſalms appointed for every day; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, ſo did this exerciſe of his devotion. And if his firſt waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it, he would arraign and condemn himſelf for it. Thus he began that work on earth, which is now his employment in heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he deſired his Chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him abſolution: and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this deſire of his was ſatisfied, his body ſeemed to be at more eaſe, and his mind more cheerful; and he ſaid, *Lord, forſake me not now my ſtrength faileth me; but continue thy mercy, and let my mouth be filled with thy praiſe.* He continued the remaining night and

and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his eaſe and refreſhment; and during that time did often ſay the 103d Pſalm to himſelf, and very often theſe words, *My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found.* His thoughts ſeemed now to be wholly of death, for which he was ſo prepared, that that King of Terrors could not ſurpriſe him *as a thief in the night*; for he had often ſaid, "he was prepared, and longed for "it." And as this deſire ſeemed to come from heaven, ſo it left him not till his ſoul aſcended to that region of bleſſed ſpirits, whoſe employments are to join in concert with him, and ſing praiſe and glory to that God, who hath brought them to that place, *into which ſin and ſorrow cannot enter.*

Thus this pattern of meekneſs and primitive innocence changed this for a better life. It is now too late to wiſh that my life may be like his; for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age: but I humbly beſeech Almighty God, that my death

may; and do as earneſtly beg of every reader to ſay Amen.

Bleſſed is the man in whoſe ſpirit there is no guile[a].

[a] Pſalm xxxii. 2.

DR.

Dr. PIERCE'S LETTER.

Good Mr. Walton,

AT my return to this place, I made a yet ſtricter ſearch after the letters long ago ſent me from our moſt excellent Dr. Sanderſon, before the happy reſtoration of the King and Church of England to their ſeveral rights: in one of which letters more eſpecially, he was pleaſed to give me a narrative both of the riſe and the progreſs, and reaſons alſo, as well of his younger, as of his laſt and riper judgment, touching the famous points controverted between the Calvinians and the Arminians, as they are commonly (though unjuſtly and unſkilfully) miſcalled on either ſide.

The whole letter I allude to does conſiſt of ſeveral ſheets, whereof a good part has been made public long ago, by the moſt learned, moſt judicious, moſt pious Dr. Hammond, (to whom I ſent it both

for his private, and for the public ſatisfaction, if he thought fit,) in his excellent book, entitled, "A Pacific Diſcourſe of "God's Grace and Decrees, in full accord-"ance with Dr. Sanderſon:" to which diſcourſe I refer you for an account of Dr. Sanderſon, and the hiſtory of his thoughts in his own hand-writing, wherein I ſent it to Weſtwood, as I received it from Boothby Pannel. And although the whole book (printed in the year 1660, and reprinted ſince with his other tracts in folio) is very worthy of your peruſal; yet, for the work you are about, you ſhall not have need to read more at preſent than from the 8th to the 23d page, and as far as the end of ſection 33. There you will find in what year the excellent man, whoſe life you write, became a Maſter of Arts: how his firſt reading of learned Hooker had been occaſioned by certain puritanical pamphlets; and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of Calvin's Inſtitutions, the honour of whoſe name (at that time eſpecially) gave ſuch credit to his errors: how he erred with Mr. Calvin,

Calvin, whilſt he took things upon truſt in the *ſublapſarian* way: how, being choſen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the dioceſe of Lincoln, 1625, he reduced the *Quinquarticular Controverſy* into five ſchemes or tables; and thereupon diſcerned a neceſſity of quitting the *ſublapſarian* way, of which he had before a better liking, as well as the *ſupralapſarian*, which he could never fancy. There you will meet with his two weighty reaſons againſt them both, and find his happy change of judgment to have been ever ſince the year 1625, even thirty-four years before the world either knew, or, at leaſt, took notice of it; and more particularly his reaſons for rejecting Dr. Twiſs, (or the way he walks in,) although his acute and very learned and ancient friend.

[a] I now proceed to let you know from Dr. Sanderſon's own hand, which was never printed, (and which you can hardly

[a] Sir, I pray note, that all that follows between inverted commas are Dr. Sanderſon's own words, excellently worthy, but no where elſe extant; and commend him as much as any thing you can ſay of him. T. P.

know from any, unleſs from his ſon, or from myſelf,) that, when that Parliament was broken up, and the convocation therewith diſſolved, a gentleman of his acquaintance, by occaſion of ſome diſcourſe about theſe points, told him of a book not long before publiſhed at Paris, (A. D. 1623,) by a Spaniſh Biſhop [a], who had undertaken to clear the differences in the great controverſy *De Concordia Gratiæ et Liberi Arbitrii*. And becauſe his friend perceived he was greedily deſirous to ſee the book, he ſent him one of them, containing the four firſt books of twelve, which he intended then to publiſh. "When I had read," ſays Dr. Sanderſon, in the following words of the ſame letter, "his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Pope, "(Gregory XV.) he ſpake ſo highly of his "own invention, that I then began rather "to ſuſpect him for a mountebank, than "to hope I ſhould find ſatisfaction from "his performances. I found much con-"fidence and great pomp of words, but

[a] Arriba.

"little

" little matter as to the main knot of the
" buſineſs, other than had been ſaid an
" hundred times before, to wit, of the
" coexiſtence of all things paſt, preſent,
" and future, *in mente divina realiter ab*
" *æterno*, which is the ſubject of his whole
" third book; only he interpreteth the
" word *realiter* ſo as to import not only
" *præſentialitatem objectivam*, (as others
" held before him,) but *propriam et actu-*
" *alem exiſtentiam*; yet confeſſeth it is hard
" to make this intelligible. In his fourth
" book he endeavours to declare a two-
" fold manner of God's working *ad extra*;
" the one *ſub ordine prædeſtinationis*, of
" which eternity is the proper meaſure;
" the other *ſub ordine gratiæ*, whereof
" time is the meaſure: and that God
" worketh *fortiter* in the one, (though not
" *irreſiſtibiliter*,) as well as *ſuaviter* in the
" other, wherein the free will hath his
" proper working alſo. From the reſult
" of his whole performance I was con-
" firmed in this opinion; that we muſt
" acknowledge the work of both grace
" and free will in the converſion of a ſin-
" ner;

" ner; and ſo likewiſe in all other events,
" the conſiſtency of the infallibility of
" God's foreknowledge at leaſt (though
" not with any abſolute, but conditional
" predeſtination) with the liberty of man's
" will, and the contingency of inferior
" cauſes and effects. Theſe, I ſay, we
" muſt acknowledge for the ὅτι: but for
" the τὸ πῶς, I thought it bootleſs for me
" to think of comprehending it. And ſo
" came the two *Acta Synodalia Dor-*
" *drechtana* to ſtand in my ſtudy, only to
" fill up a room to this day.

" And yet ſee the reſtleſs curioſity of
" man. Not many years after, to wit,
" A. D. 1632, out cometh Dr. Twiſs's
" *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, a large volume, pur-
" poſely writ againſt Arminius: and then,
" notwithſtanding my former reſolution,
" I muſt needs be meddling again. The
" reſpect I bore to his perſon and great
" learning, and the long acquaintance I
" had had with him in Oxford, drew me to
" the reading of that whole book. But
" from the reading of it (for I read it
" through to a ſyllable) I went away with

" many

" many and great diſſatisfactions. Sun-
" dry things in that book I took notice
" of, which brought me into a greater diſ-
" like of his opinion than I had before:
" but eſpecially theſe three: Firſt, that he
" bottometh very much of his diſcourſe
" upon a very erroneous principle, which
" yet he ſeemeth to be ſo deeply in love
" with, that he hath repeated it, I verily
" believe, ſome hundreds of times in that
" work: to wit this; That whatſoever is
" firſt in the intention is laſt in execution,
" and *e converſo*. Which is an error of that
" magnitude, that I cannot but wonder
" how a perſon of ſuch acuteneſs and
" ſubtilty of wit could poſſibly be deceived
" with it. All logicians know there is no
" ſuch univerſal maxim as he buildeth
" upon. The true maxim is but this: *Finis*
" *qui primus eſt in intentione, eſt ultimus in*
" *executione*. In the order of final cauſes,
" and the means uſed for that end, the
" rule holdeth perpetually: but in other
" things it holdeth not at all, or but by
" chance; or not as a rule, and neceſſarily.
" Secondly, that, foreſeeing ſuch conſe-
" quences

" quences would naturally and neceſſarily
" follow from his opinion, as would offend
" the ear of a ſober Chriſtian at the very
" firſt ſound, he would yet rather chooſe
" not only to admit the ſaid harſh conſe-
" quences, but profeſſedly endeavour alſo
" to maintain them, and plead hard for
" them in large digreſſions, than to recede
" in the leaſt from that opinion which he
" had undertaken to defend. Thirdly
" that ſeeing (out of the ſharpneſs of his
" wit) a neceſſity of forſaking the ordi-
" nary ſublapſarian way, and the ſupra-
" lapſarian too, as it had diverſely been
" declared by all that had gone be-
" fore him, (for the ſhunning of thoſe
" rocks, which either of thoſe ways must
" unavoidably caſt him upon,) he was
" forced to ſeek out an untrodden path
" and to frame out of his own brain a new
" way, (like a ſpider's web wrought
" of her own bowels,) hoping by that
" vice to ſalve all abſurdities could be
" objected; to wit, by making the glory
" of God (as it is indeed the chiefeſt and
" the only end of all other his de-

" and then making all thoſe other decrees " to be but one entire coordinate medium " conducing to that one end, and ſo the " whole ſubordinate to it, but not any " one part thereof ſubordinate to any " other of the ſame. Dr. Twiſs ſhould " have done well to have been more ſpar- " ing in imputing the *ſtudium partium* to " others, wherewith his own eyes, though " of eminent perſpicacity, were ſo ſtrange- " ly blindfolded, that he could not diſcern " how this his new device, and his old " dearly beloved principle, (like the *Cad- " mean Sparti,*) do mutually deſtroy the " one the other.

" This relation of my paſt thoughts " having ſpun out to a far greater length " than I intended, I ſhall give a ſhorter " account of what they now are concern- " ing theſe points."

For which account I refer you to the following parts of Dr. Hammond's book aforeſaid, where you may find them already printed: and for another account at large of Biſhop Sanderſon's laſt judgment concerning *God's concurrence* or *non-*

concurrence

concurrence with the *actions of men*, and *the poſitive entity of ſins of commiſſion*, I refer you to his letters already printed by his conſent, in my large Appendix to my *Impartial Enquiry into the Nature of Sin*, §. 68. p. 193. as far as p. 200.

Sir, I have rather made it my choice to tranſcribe all above out of the letters of Dr. Sanderſon, which lie before me, than venture the loſs of my originals by poſt or carrier, which, though not often, yet ſometimes fail. Make uſe of as much or as little as you pleaſe, of what I ſend you from himſelf (becauſe from his own letters to me) in the penning of his life, as your own prudence ſhall direct you; uſing my name for your warranty in the account given of him, as much or as little as you pleaſe too. You have a performance of my promiſe, and an obedience to your deſires from

Your affectionate

Humble Servant,

THO. PIERCE.

North Tidworth,
March 5, 1677-8.

THE

BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LETTER.

My worthy Friend Mr. Walton,

I AM heartily glad that you have undertaken to write the life of that excellent perſon, and (both for learning and piety) eminent Prelate, Dr. Sanderſon, late Biſhop of Lincoln; becauſe I know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth: and ſure I am, that the life and actions of that pious and learned Prelate will afford you matter enough for his commendation, and the imitation of poſterity. In order to the carrying on your intended good work, you deſire my aſſiſtance, that I would communicate to you ſuch particular paſſages of his life, as were certainly known to me. I confeſs I had the happineſs to be particularly known to him for about the ſpace of twenty years, and, in Oxon, to enjoy his converſation, and his learned

and

and pious inſtructions while he was Regius Profeſſor of Divinity there. Afterwards, when, in the time of our late unhappy confuſions, he left Oxon, and was retired into the country, I had the benefit of his letters; wherein, with great candour and kindneſs, he anſwered thoſe doubts I propoſed, and gave me that ſatisfaction, which I neither had, nor expected from ſome others of greater confidence, but leſs judgment and humility. Having, in a letter, named two or three books, writ, *ex profeſſo*, againſt the being of any original ſin; and that Adam, by his fall, tranſmitted ſome calamity only, but no crime, to his poſterity; the good old man was exceedingly troubled, and bewailed the miſery of thoſe licentious times, and ſeemed to wonder (ſave that the times were ſuch) that any ſhould write, or be permitted to publiſh, any error ſo contradictory to truth, and the doctrine of the Church of England, eſtabliſhed (as he truly ſaid) by clear evidence of Scripture, and the juſt and ſupreme power of this nation, both ſacred and civil. I name not the books,

nor

nor their authors, which are not unknown to learned men, (and I wiſh they had never been known,) becauſe both *the doctrine, and the unadviſed abettors of it, are* (*and ſhall be*) *to me apocryphal.*

Another little ſtory I muſt not paſs in ſilence, being an argument of Dr. Sanderſon's piety, great ability, and judgment as a caſuiſt. Diſcourſing with an honourable perſon [a], (whoſe piety I value more than his nobility and learning, though both be great,) about a caſe of conſcience concerning oaths and vows, their nature and obligation; in which, for ſome particular reaſons, he then deſired more fully to be informed; I commended to him Dr. Sanderſon's book *De Juramento*: which having read, with great ſatisfaction, he aſked me, if I thought the Doctor could be induced to write caſes of conſcience, if he might have an honorary penſion allowed him to furniſh him with books for that purpoſe? I told him I believed he would; and, in a letter to the Doctor, told him

[a] Robert Boyle, Eſq.

what great ſatisfaction that honoura
perſon, and many more, had reaped
reading his book *De Juramento*; and ask
him, whether he would be pleaſed, for t
benefit of the Church, to write ſo
tract of caſes of conſcience? He repli
that he was glad that any had receiv
any benefit by his books; and added fi
ther, that if any future tract of his co
bring ſuch benefit to any, as we ſeem
to ſay his former had done, he would w
lingly, though without any penſion,
about that work. Having received t
anſwer, that honourable perſon bef
mentioned did, by my hands, return 5
to the good Doctor; whoſe condition th
as moſt good men's at that time we
was but low: and he preſently reviſ
finiſhed, and publiſhed that excellent bo
De Conſcientia; a book little in bulk, b
not ſo if we conſider the benefit an intel
gent reader may receive by it: for th
are ſo many general propoſitions concer
ing conſcience, the nature and obligati
of it, explained and proved with ſuch fi
conſequence and evidence of reaſon, th

he who reads, remembers, and can, with prudence, pertinently apply them *hic et nunc* to particular caſes, may, by their light and help, rationally reſolve a thouſand particular doubts and ſcruples of conſcience. Here you may ſee the charity of that honourable perſon in promoting, and the piety and induſtry of the good Doctor in performing, that excellent work.

And here I ſhall add the judgment of that learned and pious Prelate concerning a paſſage very pertinent to our preſent purpoſe. When he was in Oxon, and read his public lectures in the Schools as Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, and by the truth of his poſitions, and evidences of his proofs, gave great content and ſatiſfaction to all his hearers; eſpecially in his clear reſolutions of all difficult caſes which occurred in the explication of the ſubject-matter of his lectures; a perſon of quality, yet alive, privately aſked him, what courſe a young Divine ſhould take in his ſtudies, to enable him to be a good caſuiſt? His anſwer was, that a convenient underſtanding of the learned languages, (at leaſt

of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin,) and a ſufficient knowledge of arts and ſciences preſuppoſed; there were two things in human literature, a comprehenſion of which would be of very great uſe to enable a man to be a rational and able caſuiſt, which otherwiſe was very difficult, if not impoſſible. 1. A convenient knowledge of moral philoſophy; eſpecially that part of it which treats of the nature of human actions: to know, *quid ſit actus humanus (ſpontaneus, invitus, mixtus), unde habent bonitatem et malitiam moralem? an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumſtantiis?* how the variety of circumſtances varies the goodneſs or evil of human actions? how far knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuſe, increaſe or diminiſh, the goodneſs or evil of our actions? For every caſe of conſcience being only this, *Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?* he who, in theſe, knows not how and whence human actions become morally good and evil, never can, *in hypotheſi*, rationally and certainly termine, whether this or that partic[illegible] action be

ſo. 2. The ſecond thing, which, he ſaid, would be a great help and advantage to a caſuiſt, was a convenient knowledge of the nature and obligation of laws in general: to know what a law is; what a natural and a poſitive law; what's required to the *latio, diſpenſatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis*; what promulgation is antecedently required to the obligation of any poſitive law; what ignorance takes off the obligation of a law, or does excuſe, diminiſh, or aggravate the tranſgreſſion: for every caſe of conſcience being only this, *Is this lawful for me, or is it not?* and the law the only rule and meaſure, by which I muſt judge of the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of any action; it evidently follows, that he who, in theſe, knows not the nature and obligation of laws, never can be a good caſuiſt, or rationally aſſure himſelf, or others, of the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of actions in particular. This was the judgment and good counſel of that learned and pious Prelate; and having, by long experience, found the truth and benefit of it, I conceive I

could not, without ingratitude to him, and want of charity to others, conceal it. Pray pardon this rude, and, I fear, impertinent ſcribble, which (if nothing elſe) may ſignify thus much, that I am willing to obey your deſires, and am indeed

Your affectionate friend,

THOMAS LINCOLN.

LONDON,
May 10, 1678.

REASONS

OF THE PRESENT

JUDGMENT

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

CONCERNING THE

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT,

NEGATIVE OATH,

ORDINANCES CONCERNING DISCIPLINE AND WORSHIP.

Approved by general Conſent in a full Convocation, June 1, 1647; and preſented to Conſideration.

A ſolemn League and Covenant for reformation and defence of Religion, the honour and happineſs of the King, and the peace and ſafety of the three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all ſorts in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under our King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the honour and happineſs of the King's Majeſty and his poſterity, and the true public liberty, ſafety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private devotion is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody

bloody plots, conſpiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God againſt the true religion, and how much their rage, power, and preſumption are of late and at this time increaſed and exerciſed; whereof the deplorable eſtate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the diſtreſſed eſtate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous eſtate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are preſent and public teſtimonies: we have now at laſt, (after other means of ſupplication, remonſtrance, proteſtations, and ſufferings,) for the preſervation of ourſelves and our religion from utter ruin and deſtruction, according to the commendable practice of theſe kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, reſolved and determined to enter into a mutual and ſolemn League and Covenant, wherein we all ſubſcribe, and each one of us for himſelf, with our hands lifted up to the moſt high God, do ſwear,

I.

That we ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly,

ſtantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our ſeveral places and callings, the preſervation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government, againſt our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed churches: and ſhall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the neareſt conjunction and uniformity in religion, confeſſion of faith, form of church-government, directory for worſhip and catechizing; that we, and our poſterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt of us.

II.

That we ſhall in like manner, without reſpect of perſons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church-government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops,

ſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other eccleſiaſtical officers depending on that hierarchy,) ſuperſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, profaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound doctrine, and the power of godlineſs, leſt we partake in other men's ſins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms.

III.

We ſhall, with the ſame ſincerity, reality, and conſtancy, in our ſeveral vocations, endeavour, with our eſtates and lives, mutually to preſerve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's perſon and authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witneſs with our conſciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or inten-

intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt power and greatneſs.

IV.

We ſhall alſo with all faithfulneſs endeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be, incendiaries, malignants, or evil inſtruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongſt the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign puniſhment, as the degree of their offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the ſupreme judicatories of both kingdoms reſpectively, or others having power from them for that effect, ſhall judge convenient.

V.

And whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed peace between theſe kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good providence of God, granted unto

unto us, and hath been lately concluded and ſettled by both Parliaments, we ſhall each one of us, according to our place and intereſt, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all poſterity; and that juſtice may be done upon the wilful oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent articles.

VI.

We ſhall alſo, according to our places and callings, in this common cauſe of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing thereof, and ſhall not ſuffer ourſelves, directly or indirectly, by whatſoever combination, perſuaſion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourſelves to a deteſtable indifferency or neutrality in this cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms,

doms, and the honour of the King; but ſhall all the days of our lives zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein againſt all oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our power, againſt all lets and impediments whatſoever; and what we are not able ourſelves to ſuppreſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we ſhall do as in the ſight of God.

And becauſe theſe kingdoms are guilty of many ſins and provocations againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent diſtreſſes and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profeſs and declare; before God and the world, our unfeigned deſire to be humbled for our own ſins, and for the ſins of theſe kingdoms, eſpecially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inеſtimable benefit of the Goſpel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives; which are the

cauſes

cauſes of our ſins and tranſgreſſions j
abounding amongſt us; and our tr
unfeigned purpoſe, deſire, and endeav
ourſelves, and all others under our
and charge, both in public and in p
in all duties we owe to God and t
amend our lives, and each one to go
another in the example of a real re
tion, that the Lord may turn aw
wrath and heavy indignation, and e
theſe churches and kingdoms in tru
peace. And this Covenant we make
preſence of Almighty God, the ſearc
all hearts, with a true intention to p
the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that
day, when the ſecrets of all hearts
be diſcloſed; moſt humbly beſeechin
Lord to ſtrengthen us by his holy Spi
this end, and to bleſs our deſires anc
ceedings with ſuch ſucceſs, as may
liverance and ſafety to his people, an
couragement to other Chriſtian ch
groaning under, or in danger of, th
of Antichriſtian tyranny, to join in the
or like aſſociation and covenant, to the
of God, the enlargement of the kingd

Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.

THE NEGATIVE OATH.

I A. B. do ſwear from my heart, that I will not, directly nor indirectly, adhere unto, or willingly aſſiſt, the King in this war, or in this cauſe, againſt the Parliament, nor any forces raiſed without the conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament, in this cauſe or war. And I do likewiſe ſwear, that my coming and ſubmitting myſelf under the power and protection of the Parliament, is without any manner of deſign whatſoever, to the prejudice of the proceedings of this preſent Parliament, and without the direction, privity, or advice of the King, or any of his council or officers, other than what I have now made known. So help me God, and the contents of this Book.

Reaſons why the Univerſity of Oxford cannot ſubmit to the Covenant, the Negative Oath, the Ordinance concerning Diſcipline and Directory, mentioned in the late Ordinance of Parliament for the Viſitation of that place.

WHEREAS by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for the viſitation and reformation of the Univerſity of Oxford, lately publiſhed, power is given to certain perſons therein named as Viſitors, to enquire concerning thoſe of the ſaid Univerſity that neglect to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Negative Oath being tendered unto them, and likewiſe concerning thoſe that oppoſe the execution of the Ordinances of Parliament concerning the Diſcipline and Directory, or ſhall not promote or cauſe the ſame to be put in execution, according to their ſeveral places and callings; we the Maſters, Scholars, and other officers and members

of the ſaid Univerſity, not to judge the conſciences of others, but to clear ourſelves before God and the world from all ſuſpicion of obſtinacy, whilſt we diſcharge our own, preſent to conſideration the true reaſons of our preſent judgment concerning the ſaid Covenant, Oath, and Ordinances; expecting ſo much juſtice, and hoping for ſo much charity, as either not to be preſſed to conform to what is required in any the premiſes, further than our preſent judgments will warrant us; or not condemned for the refuſing ſo to do, without clear and real ſatisfaction given to our juſt ſcruples.

§. 1.

OF THE PREFACE TO THE COVENANT.

THE exceptions againſt the Introductory Preface to the Covenant, although we inſiſt not much upon, becauſe it may be ſaid to be no part of the Covenant; yet among the things therein contained, the acknowledgment whereof is implicitly required of every Covenanter,

1. We are not able to ſay, *That the rage, power, and preſumption of the enemies of God* (in the ſenſe there intended) *is at this time increaſed.*

2. Nor can truly affirm, that we had uſed,

or given conſent to, any *ſupplication* or *remonſtrance* to the purpoſes therein expreſſed.

3. Nor do conceive the entering into ſuch a mutual League and Covenant to be a lawful, proper, and probable means to *preſerve ourſelves and our religion from ruin and deſtruction.*

4. Nor can believe the ſame to be *according to the commendable practice of theſe kingdoms, or the example of God's people in other nations*; when we find not the leaſt footſtep in our hiſtories of a ſworn covenant ever entered into by the people of this kingdom upon any occaſion whatſoever; nor can readily remember any commendable example of the like done in any other nation; but are rather told by the defenders of this Covenant, that [a] *the world never ſaw the like before.*

[a] "Such an oath, as for matter, perſons, and other "circumſtances, the like hath not been in any age or "oath we read of in ſacred or human ſtories." M. Nye, Covenant with Narrative, p. 11.

§. 2.

OF THE COVENANT IN GROSS.

FIRST, we are not ſatisfied how we can ſubmit to the taking thereof, as it is now impoſed under a penalty.

1. Such impoſition (to our ſeeming) being repugnant to the nature of a covenant, which being a contract, implieth a [a] *voluntary mutual conſent* of the contractors; whereunto men are to be induced by perſuaſions, not compelled by power. Inſomuch that the very words of this Covenant in the preface, concluſion, and whole frame thereof, run in ſuch a form throughout, as import a conſent rather grounded upon prudential motives, than extorted by rigour.
2. Without betraying the liberty, which by our proteſtation we are bound, and in the third article of this Covenant muſt ſwear, *with our lives and fortunes to preſerve.* To which liberty the impoſition of a new oath, other than is eſtabliſhed by act of

[a] "Pactum eſt duorum pluriumve in idem placitum "conſenſus." L. i. ff. de Pactis.

Parliament, is expreſſed in the *Petition of Right* [a], and by the Lords and Commons in their *Declarations* [b] acknowledged to be contrary.

3. Without acknowledging in the impoſers a greater power than, for ought that appeareth to us, hath been in former time challenged; or can conſiſt with our former proteſtation, (if we rightly underſtand it,) in ſundry the moſt material branches thereof.

Neither, ſecondly, are we ſatisfied, although the Covenant ſhould not be impoſed upon us at all, but only recommended to us, and then left to our choice;

1. How we ſhould in wiſdom and duty, (being ſubjects,) of our own accord and free will, enter into a Covenant, wherein

[a] "Whereas many of them have had an oath ad-"miniſtered unto them, not warrantable by the laws "and ſtatutes of this realm; they do humbly pray, "that no man hereafter be compelled to take ſuch an "oath.—All which they moſt humbly pray—as their "rights and liberties according to the laws and ſta-"tutes of this realm." Petit. of Right, 3 Carol.

[b] It is declared, 16 Jan. 1642, "That the King can-"not compel men to be ſworn without an act of Par-"liament." Exact. Collect. p. 859, 860.

he, whoſe ſubjects we are, is in any wiſe concerned, without his conſent, either expreſſed or reaſonably preſumed; it being in his power (as we conceive) by the equity of the law, Numb. xxx. to annul and make void the ſame at his pleaſure.

2. How we can (now that his Majeſty hath by his public *Interdict*[a] ſufficiently made known his pleaſure in that behalf) enter into a Covenant, the taking whereof he hath expreſsly forbidden, without forfeiting that obedience, which, (as we are perſuaded,) by our natural allegiance and former oaths, we owe unto all ſuch his Majeſty's commands, as are not in our apprehenſions repugnant to the will of God, or the poſitive laws of this kingdom.

§. 3.

OF THE FIRST ARTICLE OF THE COVENANT.

WHEREIN, firſt, we are not ſatisfied, how we can with judgment ſwear to endeavour to preſerve the religion of another kingdom;

1. Whereof, as it doth not concern us to

[a] Proclam. of 9 Octob. 19 Car.

have

have very much, ſo we profeſs to have very little underſtanding.

2. Which (ſo far as the occurrents of theſe unhappy times have brought it to our knowledge, and we are able to judge) is in three of the four ſpecified particulars, viz. *worſhip*, *diſcipline*, and *government*, much worſe; and in the fourth (that of *doctrine*) not at all better, than our own; which we are in the next paſſage of the article required to reform.

3. Wherein if hereafter we ſhall find any thing (as, upon farther underſtanding thereof, it is not impoſſible we may) that may ſeem to us favouring of *popery*, *ſuperſtition*, *hereſy*, or *ſchiſm*, or *contrary to ſound doctrine*, or *the power of godlineſs*; we ſhall be bound by the next article to endeavour the extirpation, after we have bound ourſelves by this firſt article to the preſervation thereof.

4. Wherein we already find ſome things (to our thinking) ſo far tending towards *ſuperſtition* [a] and *ſchiſm* [b], that it ſeemeth to

[a] Viz. in accounting Biſhops antichriſtian, and indifferent ceremonies unlawful.

[b] Viz. in making their diſcipline and government a mark

us more reaſonable that we ſhould call upon them to reform the ſame, than that they ſhould call upon us to preſerve it.

Secondly, we are not ſatisfied in the next branch, concerning the reformation of religion in our own kingdom, in *doctrine*, *worſhip*, *diſcipline*, and *government*; how we can ſwear to endeavour the ſame, (which without making a change therein cannot be done,)

1. Without *manifeſt ſcandal to the Papiſt and Separatiſt*,

1. By yielding the cauſe, which our godly Biſhops and Martyrs, and all our learned Divines ever ſince the Reformation, have both by their writings and ſufferings maintained; who have juſtified, againſt them both, the religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of England to be agreeable to the word of God.

2. By juſtifying the Papiſts in the reproaches and ſcorn by them caſt upon our religion, whoſe uſual objection it hath been, and is, that we know not what our religion is; that ſince we left them, we cannot tell

mark of the true church, and the ſetting up thereof the erecting of the throne of Chriſt.

where

where to ſtay; and that our religion is [a] *a Parliamentary religion.*

3. By a tacit acknowledgment that there is ſomething both in the doctrine and worſhip, whereunto their conformity hath been required, not agreeable to the Word of God, and conſequently juſtifying them both, the one in his recuſancy, the other in his ſeparation.

4. By an implied confeſſion, that the laws formerly made againſt Papiſts in this kingdom, and all puniſhments by virtue thereof inflicted upon them, were unjuſt; in puniſhing them for refuſing to join with us in that form of worſhip, which ourſelves (as well as they) do not approve of.

2. Without *manifeſt wrong unto ourſelves*, our conſciences, reputation, and eſtates, in bearing falſe witneſs againſt ourſelves, and ſundry other ways: by ſwearing to endeavour to reform that, as corrupt and vicious,

1. Which we have formerly by our perſonal

[a] "Let us not be blamed, if we call it Parliament re-"ligion, Parliament goſpel, Parliament faith." Harding, Confut. of Apology, part vi. chap. 2.

ſub-

ſubſcriptions approved, as agreeable to God's Word; and have not been ſince either condemned by our own hearts for ſo doing, or convinced in our judgments by any of our brethren that therein we did amiſs.

2. Which in our conſciences we are perſuaded not to be in any of the four ſpecified particulars, (as it ſtandeth by law eſtabliſhed,) much leſs in the whole four, againſt the Word of God.

3. Which we verily believe (and, as we think, upon good grounds) to be in ſundry reſpects much better, and more agreeable to the Word of God, and the practice of the Catholic Church, than that which we ſhould by the former words of this article ſwear to preſerve.

4. Whereunto the [a] laws yet in force require of all ſuch clerks as ſhall be admitted to any benefice, the ſignification of their hearty aſſent, to be atteſted openly in the time of divine ſervice, before the whole congregation there preſent, within a limited time, and that under pain (upon

[a] Stat. 13 Eliz. 12.

default

default made) of the loſs of every ſuch benefice.

3. Without *manifeſt danger of perjury:* this branch of the article (to our beſt underſtandings) ſeeming directly contrary,

1. To our former ſolemn proteſtation, which we have bound ourſelves neither for hope, fear, or other reſpect, ever to relinquiſh. Wherein the doctrine which we have vowed to maintain, by the name of the *true Proteſtant religion expreſſed in the doctrine of the Church of England*, we take to be the ſame, which now we are required to endeavour to reform and alter.

2. To the Oath of Supremacy, by us alſo taken, according to the laws of the realm, and the ſtatutes of our Univerſity in that behalf. Wherein having firſt teſtified and declared in our conſciences, that the *King's Highneſs is the only ſupreme Governor of this realm, we do after ſwear to our power to aſſiſt and defend all juriſdictions, privileges, preeminences, and authorities, granted or belonging to the King's Highneſs, his heirs and ſucceſſors, or united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm.* One of the which privileges and preeminences,

nences, by an expreſs ſtatute ſo annexed, and that even, *in terminis*, in the ſelf-ſame words in a manner with thoſe uſed in the oath, is the whole power of ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, for the correction and reformation of all manner of errors and abuſes *in matters eccleſiaſtical:* as by the words [a] of the ſaid ſtatute more at large appeareth. The oath affording the *propoſition*, and the ſtatute the *aſſumption*, we find no way how to avoid the *concluſion*.

§. 4.

OF THE SECOND ARTICLE OF THE COVENANT.

FIRST, it cannot but affect us with ſome grief and amazement, to ſee that ancient form of church-government, which we heartily

[a] "Such juriſdictions, privileges, ſuperiorities, and "preeminences, ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical, as by any, "&c. for the viſitation of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate and "perſons, and for reformation, order, and correction of "the ſame, and of all manner of errors, hereſies, "ſchiſms, abuſes, offences, contempts, and enormities, "ſhall for ever, by authority of this preſent Parliament, "be united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this "realm." An Act reſtoring to the Crown the ancient Juriſdiction, &c. 1 Eliz. 1.

(and,

nd, as we hope, worthily) honour, as under hich our religion was at firſt ſo orderly, with-it violence or tumult, and ſo happily re-rmed, and hath ſince ſo long flouriſhed with ıth and peace, to the honour and happineſs our own, and the envy and admiration of her nations, not only

1. Endeavoured to be extirpated, without any reaſon offered to our underſtandings, for which it ſhould be thought neceſſary, or but ſo much as expedient, ſo to do. But alſo
2. Ranked with *popery*, *ſuperſtition*, *hereſy*, *ſchiſm*, and *profaneneſs*; which we unfeignedly profeſs ourſelves to deteſt as much as any others whatſoever.
3. And that with ſome intimation alſo, as if that government were ſome way or other ſo *contrary to ſound doctrine, or the power of godlineſs*, that whoſoever ſhould not endeavour the extirpation thereof muſt of neceſſity *partake in other men's ſins*, which we cannot yet be perſuaded to believe.
4. And we deſire it may be conſidered, in caſe a covenant of like form ſhould be tendered to the citizens of London, wherein

wherein they ſhould be required to ſwea they would ſincerely, really, and co ſtantly, without reſpect of perſons, ende vour the extirpation of *treaſon, the c government*, (by a Lord Mayor, Alderme Sheriffs, Common Council, and other of cers depending thereon,) *murder, adulte theft, cozenage, and whatſoever ſhall be—ſ leſt they ſhould partake in other men's ſi* whether ſuch a tendry could be look upon by any citizen, that had the le ſpirit of freedom in him, as an act juſtice, meekneſs, and reaſon.

Secondly, for epiſcopal government; we a not ſatisfied how we can, with a good c ſcience, ſwear to endeavour the extirpat thereof, 1. In *reſpect of the thing itſelf*. C cerning which government we think we l reaſon to believe,

1. That it is (if not *jure divino* in the ſtr ſenſe, that is to ſay, expreſsly comma by God in his word, yet) of *apo inſtitution*; that is to ſay, was eſtab in the churches by the Apoſtles, a ing to the mind, and after the ex of their Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, and t

virtue of their ordinary power and authority derived from him, as deputed by him governors of his Church.

2. Or at leaſt, that *Epiſcopal Ariſtocracy* hath a fairer pretenſion, and may lay a juſter title and claim to a divine inſtitution, than any of the other forms of church-government can do, all which yet do pretend thereunto, viz. that of the *Papal Monarchy*, that of the *Preſbyterian Democracy*, and that of the *Independents* by particular congregations, or gathered churches.

2. But we are aſſured by the undoubted teſtimony of ancient records and later hiſtories, that this form of government hath been continued with ſuch an univerſal, uninterrupted, unqueſtioned ſucceſſion in all the churches of God, and in all kingdoms that have been called Chriſtian throughout the whole world for fifteen hundred years together, that there never was, in all that time, any conſiderable oppoſition made there againſt. That of Arius was the greateſt, wherein yet there was little of conſideration, beſide theſe two things: that it grew at the firſt but out of diſcontent; and gained him at the laſt but the reputation of an heretic. From which antiquity and continu-

ance we have juſt cauſe to fear, that to endeavour the extirpation thereof,

1. Would give ſuch advantage to the Papiſts, who uſually object againſt us, and our religion, the contempt of antiquity, and the love of novelty, that we ſhould not be able to wipe off the aſperſion.
2. Would ſo diminiſh the juſt authority due to the conſentient judgment and practice of the Univerſal Church, (the beſt interpreter of Scripture in things not clearly expreſſed, for *Lex currit cum praxi*,) that without it we ſhould be at a loſs in ſundry points both of *faith* and *manners*, at this day firmly believed and ſecurely practiſed by us; when by the Socinians, Anabaptiſts, and other Sectaries, we ſhould be called upon for our proofs: as namely, ſundry orthodoxal explications concerning the Trinity and Co-equality of the Perſons in the Godhead, againſt the Arians and other heretics; the number, uſe, and efficacy of Sacraments; the baptizing of infants; national churches; the obſervation of the Lord's day; and even the Canon of Scripture itſelf.

Thirdly, *In reſpect of ourſelves*; we are not ſatis-

isfied how it can ſtand with the principles *juſtice*, *ingenuity*, and *humanity*, to require the tirpation of epiſcopal government, (unleſs had been firſt clearly demonſtrated to be unlawful,) to be ſincerely and really endeavoured of us,

1. Who have all of us, who have taken any degree, by ſubſcribing the XXXIX Articles, teſtified our approbation of that government: one of thoſe Articles[a] affirming the very book containing the form of their *Conſecration*, to contain in it nothing contrary to the Word of God.
2. Who have moſt of us (viz. as many as have entered into the miniſtry) received orders from their hands, whom we ſhould very ill requite for laying their hands upon us, if we ſhould now lay to our hands to root them up, and cannot tell for what.
3. Who have ſundry of us, ſince the beginning of this Parliament, ſubſcribed our names to petitions exhibited, or intended to be exhibited, to that High Court, for the continuance of that government: which as we then did ſincerely and real-

[a] Art. XXXVI.

ly, ſo we ſhould, with like ſincerity and reality, ſtill (not having met with any thing ſince to ſhew us our error) be ready to do the ſame again, if we had the ſame hopes we then had of the reception of ſuch petitions.

4. Who hold ſome of us our livelihood, either in whole or part, by thoſe titles of *Deans, Deans and Chapters, &c.* mentioned in the articles; being members of ſome collegiate or cathedral churches. And our memories will not readily ſerve us with any example in this kind ſince the world began; wherein any ſtate or profeſſion of men, though convicted (as we are not) of a crime that might deſerve deprivation, were required to bind themſelves by oath, *ſincerely and really to endeavour* the rooting out of that, (in itſelf unlawful,) together wherewith they muſt alſo root out themſelves, their eſtates, livelihoods.

5. Eſpecially it being uſual in moſt of ſaid churches, that ſuch perſons as admitted members thereof, have a ſonal oath adminiſtered unto them maintain the honour, immunities

ties, and profits of the ſame; and whilſt they live to ſeek the good, and not to do any thing to the hurt, hindrance, or prejudice thereof; or in other words to the like effect.

Fourthly, *In reſpect of the Church of England*; we are not ſatisfied how we can ſwear to endeavour the extirpation of the eſtabliſhed government, no neceſſity or juſt cauſe for ſo doing, either offering itſelf, or being offered to our underſtandings.

1. Since all change of government unavoidably bringeth with it, beſides thoſe that are preſent and evident, ſundry other inconveniences, which no wit of man can poſſibly foreſee to provide againſt, till late experience diſcover them: we cannot be ſure that the evils which may enſue upon the change of this government, (which hath been of ſo long continuance in this kingdom, is ſo deeply rooted in the laws thereof, and hath ſo near a conjunction with, and ſo ſtrong an influence upon, the civil ſtate and government, as that the change thereof muſt infer the neceſſity of a great alteration to be made in the other alſo,) may not be greater than the

poſed evils, whatſoever they are, which by this change are ſought to be remedied. For there are not yet any come to our knowledge of that deſperate nature, as not to be capable of other remedy, than the utter extirpation of the whole government itſelf.

2. Whereas the Houſe of Commons[a] have remonſtrated, that it was far from their purpoſe or deſire to *aboliſh the church-government*, but rather that *all the members of the Church of England ſhould be regulated by ſuch rules of order and diſcipline, as are eſtabliſhed by Parliament*; and that it was malignancy *to infuſe into the people*, that they had any other meaning: we are loth, by conſenting to the ſecond article, to become guilty of ſuch *infuſion*, as may

[a] "— give advantage to this malignant party to "traduce our proceedings. They infuſe into the peo- "ple that we mean to aboliſh all church-government." Remonſt. 15 Dec. 1641. Exact. Collect. p. 19. "The "Lords and Commons do declare, that they intend a "due and neceſſary reformation of the Government "and Liturgy of the Church, and to take away nothing "in the one or in the other, but what ſhall be evil, and "juſtly offenſive, or at leaſt unneceſſary and burthen- "ſome." Declar. 9 Apr. 1642. Exact. Coll. p. 135.

bring

bring us within the compaſs and danger of the fourth article of this Covenant.

3. Since it hath been declared by ſundry[a] Acts of Parliament, that *the holy Church of England was founded in the ſtate of Prelacy within the realm of England*; we dare not, by endeavouring the extirpation of Prelacy, ſtrike at the very foundation, and thereby (as much as in us lieth) cooperate towards the ruin of this famous Church, which in all conſcience and duty we are bound with our utmoſt lawful power to uphold.

Laſtly, *In reſpect of our obligations to his Majeſty* by our duty and oaths; we are not ſatisfied how we can ſwear to endeavour the extirpation of the church-government by law eſtabliſhed, without forfeiture of thoſe obligations.

1. Having in the oath of Supremacy acknowledged the King to be *the only ſupreme Governor in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and over all eccleſiaſtical perſons*; and having bound ourſelves both in that oath, and by our Proteſtation, *to maintain the King's honour, eſtate, juriſdictions*, and all manner of rights: it is clear to our underſtand-

[a] Statute of Carliſle 25 Ed. I. recited 25 Ed. III.

ings, that we cannot without diſloyalty and injury to him, and double perjury to ourſelves, take upon us, without his conſent, to make any alteration in the eccleſiaſtical laws or government, much leſs to endeavour the extirpation thereof; unleſs the impoſers of this Covenant had a power and meaning (which they have openly diſclaimed [a]) to abſolve us of that obedience, which under God we owe unto his Majeſty, whom they know to be entruſted with the eccleſiaſtical law.

2. We cannot ſincerely and really endeavour the extirpation of this government, without a ſincere deſire and real endeavour, that his Majeſty would grant his royal aſſent to ſuch extirpation. Which we are ſo far from deſiring and endeavouring, that we hold it our bounden duty by our daily prayers to beg at the hands of Almighty God, that he would not for

a "They infuſe into the people, that we mean—to "leave every man to his own fancy—abſolving him of "that obedience which he owes under God unto his "Majeſty, whom we know to be entruſted with the "eccleſiaſtical law, as well as with the temporal." Exact. Collect. ubi ſupra, p. 19.

our

our ſins ſuffer the King to do an act ſo prejudicial to his honour and conſcience, as to conſent to the rooting out of that eſtate, which by ſo many branches of his *Coronation Oath* [a], he hath in ſuch a ſolemn manner ſworn, by the aſſiſtance of God, to his power to maintain and preſerve.

3. By the laws of this land, [b] the *Collation* of *Biſhoprics* and [c] *Deaneries*; the [d] *fruits* and *profits* of their lands and revenues during their vacancies; the [e] *firſt fruits and yearly tenths* out of all eccleſiaſtical promotions; and ſundry other privileges, profits, and emoluments, ariſing out of the

[a] That he will "grant, keep, and confirm the laws, "cuſtoms, and franchiſes, granted to the Clergy by the "glorious King S. Edward: and that he will grant "and preſerve unto the Biſhops, and to the Churches "committed to their charge, all canonical privileges, "and due law and juſtice: and that he will protect "and defend them, as every good King in his kingdom "ought to be protector and defender of the Biſhops, "and the Churches under their government." Vide Exact. Coll. p. 290, 291.

[b] See Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. 20. and 1 Ed. VI. 2.

[c] See Stat. 39 Eliz. 8.

[d] Stat. 14 Ed. III. 4 and 5. and 17 Ed. III. 14.

[e] Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. 3. and 1 Eliz. 4.

ſtate

ſtate eccleſiaſtical, are eſtabliſhed in the Crown, and are a conſiderable part of the revenues thereof; which, by the extirpation of Prelacy, as it is in the article expounded, or by ſubſequent practice evidenced, will be ſevered and cut off from the Crown, to the great prejudice and damage thereof. Whereunto as we ought not in common reaſon, and in order to our allegiance as ſubjects, yield our conſent; ſo having ſworn expreſsly *to maintain the King's honour and eſtate*, and to our power to aſſiſt and defend all juriſdictions, &c. belonging to his Highneſs, or united and annexed to the imperial Crown of the realm, we cannot, without manifeſt perjury, (as we conceive,) conſent thereunto.

4. The government of this realm being confeſſedly an *empire*, or *monarchy* [a], and that

[a] "—Supremam poteſtatem et merum imperium "apud nos habet Rex." Cambd. "Whereas by ſun- "dry divers old authentic hiſtories and chronicles it is "manifeſtly declared and expreſſed, that this realm of "England is an empire, and ſo hath been accepted in "the world, governed by one ſupreme Head and King, "having the dignity and royal eſtate of the imperial "Crown

of a moſt excellent temper and conſtitution, we underſtand not how it can become us to deſire or endeavour the extirpation of that government in the Church, which we conceive to be incomparably of all other the moſt agreeable, and no way prejudicial to the ſtate of ſo well a conſtituted monarchy: inſomuch as King James would often ſay, what his long experience had taught him, *No Biſhop, no King*. Which aphoriſm, though we find in ſundry pamphlets of late years to have been exploded with much confidence and ſcorn, yet we muſt profeſs to have met with very little in the proceedings of the late times, to weaken our belief of it. And we hope we ſhall be the leſs blamed for our unwillingneſs to have any actual concurrence in the extirpating of epiſcopal government; ſeeing of ſuch extirpation there is no other uſe imaginable, but either the alienation of their revenues and inheritances, (which how it can be ſevered from *ſacrilege* and *injuſtice*, we leave others to find out,) or to make way for the

Crown of the ſame." Stat. 24 Hen. VIII. 12. See ſo 1 Eliz. 3.

in-

introducing of ſome other form of church government: which, whatſoever it ſhall be, will (as we think) prove either deſtructive of, and inconſiſtent with, monarchical government, or at leaſtwiſe more prejudicial to the peaceable, orderly, and effectual exerciſe thereof, than a well-regulated Epiſcopacy can poſſibly be.

§. 5.

OF THE OTHER PARTS OF THE COVENANT.

HAVING inſiſted the more upon the two firſt articles, that concern Religion and the Church, and wherein ourſelves have a more proper concernment; we ſhall need to inſiſt the leſs upon thoſe that follow, contenting ourſelves with a few (the moſt obvious) of thoſe many great, and (as we conceive) juſt exceptions that lie there againſt.

1. In the third article, we are not ſatisfied that our endeavour to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's perſon and authority is ſo limited, as there it is, by that addition, *In the preſervation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom.* Foraſmuch as,

1. No ſuch limitation of our duty in that behalf is to be found, either in the oaths of

of Supremacy and Allegiance, (which no Papiſt would refuſe to take with ſuch a limitation,) nor in the Proteſtation, nor in the Word of God.

2. Our endeavour to preſerve the rights and privileges of Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, is required to be ſworn of us in the ſame article, without the like or any other limitation added thereunto.

3. Such limitation leaveth the duty of the ſubject at ſo much looſeneſs, and the ſafety of the King at ſo great uncertainty, that whenſoever the people ſhall have a mind to withdraw their obedience, they cannot want a pretence from the ſame for ſo doing.

4. After we ſhould, by the very laſt thing we did, (viz. ſwearing with ſuch a limitation,) have made ourſelves guilty of an actual and real diminution (as we conceive) of his Majeſty's juſt power and greatneſs; the obteſtation would ſeem very unſeaſonable (at the leaſt) with the ſame breath to call the world to bear witneſs with our conſciences, that we had no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh the ſame.

5. The

5. The ſwearing with ſuch a limitation is a teſtimony of the ſubject's loyalty (to our ſeeming) of a very ſtrange nature; which, the principles of their ſeveral religions ſalved, the conſcience of a moſt reſolute Papiſt or Sectary may ſecurely ſwallow, and the conſcience of a good Proteſtant cannot but ſtrain at.

2. In the fourth article,

1. We deſire it may be conſidered, whether the impoſing of the Covenant in this article do not lay a neceſſity upon the ſon, of accuſing his own father, and purſuing him to deſtruction, in caſe he ſhould be an incendiary, malignant, or other evil inſtrument, ſuch as in the article is deſcribed. A courſe which we conceive to be contrary to religion, nature, and humanity.

2. Whether the ſwearing according to this article doth not rather open a ready way to children that are ſick of the father, huſbands that are weary of their wives, &c. by appealing ſuch as ſtand betwęen them and their deſires, of malignancy, the better to effectuate their unlawful intentions and deſigns.

3. Our-

3. Ourſelves having ſolemnly protested to maintain the liberty of the ſubject, and the Houſe of Commons having publicly declared againſt the exerciſe of an arbitrary power, with order that their ſaid Declaration ſhould be printed and publiſhed in all the pariſh-churches and chapels of the kingdom, there to ſtand and remain as a teſtimony of the clearneſs of their intentions; whether the ſubjecting of ourſelves and brethren by oath unto ſuch puniſhments, as ſhall be inflicted upon us, (without law or merit,) at the ſole pleaſure of ſuch uncertain judges as ſhall be, upon any particular occaſion, *deputed for that effect*, of what mean quality or abilities ſoever they be, even to the taking away of our lives, *if they ſhall think it convenient ſo to do*, though the degree of our offences ſhall not require or deſerve the ſame; be not the betraying of our liberty in the loweſt, and the ſetting up of an arbitrary power in the higheſt degree that can be imagined.

3. The ſubſtance of the fifth article being the ettling and continuance of a firm peace and nion between the three kingdoms, ſince it is

our

our bounden duty to deſire, and accor
our ſeveral places and intereſts by all
means to endeavour the ſame; we ſhoul
no ſcruple at all to enter into a cove
that purpoſe, were it not

1. That we do not ſee, nor therefi
acknowledge *the happineſs of ſuch*
peace between the three *kingdoms*, (
hope *Ireland* is not forgotten,) as in
ticle is mentioned, ſo long as *Irela*
war within itſelf, and both the othe
doms engaged in that war.

2. That ſince no peace can be fir
well-grounded, that is not bottome
juſtice, the moſt proper and adeq
whereof is, *jus ſuum cuique*, to le
one have that which of right bel
unto him; we cannot conceive
firm and laſting peace can be eſta
in theſe kingdoms, unleſs the ref
authority, power, and liberty of
Parliament, and *Subject*, as well eve
as other, be preſerved full and enti
cording to the known laws and cor
unqueſtioned cuſtoms of the ſeveral
doms in former times, and before t
ginning of theſe ſad diſtractions.

4. In the ſixth article we are altogether unſatisfied.

1. The whole article being grounded upon a ſuppoſition, which hath not yet been evidenced to us, viz. that *this cauſe*, meaning thereby (or elſe we underſtand it not) the joining in this Covenant of mutual defence for the proſecution of the late war, was *the cauſe of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms*; and that it ſo much concerned *the glory of God, and the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the King.*

2. If all the premiſes were ſo clear, that we durſt yield our free aſſent thereunto, yet were they not ſufficient to warrant to our conſciences what in this article is required to be ſworn of us; unleſs we were as clearly ſatisfied concerning the lawfulneſs of the means to be uſed for the ſupporting of ſuch a cauſe. For ſince evil may not be done, that good may come thereof, we cannot yet be perſuaded, that *the cauſe of religion, liberty, and peace*, may be ſupported, or *the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the King*, ſought to be advanced, by ſuch means, as (to our beſt underſtandings) are both improper for

thoſe ends, and deſtitute of all warrant from the laws, either of God, or of this realm.

5. Laſtly, in the concluſion, our hearts tremble to think, that we ſhould be required to pray, that *other Chriſtian Churches might be encouraged by our example to join in the like aſſociation and covenant, to free themſelves from the Antichriſtian yoke, &c.* Wherein

1. To omit that we do not know any *Antichriſtian yoke* under which we were held in theſe kingdoms, and from which we owe to this either war or Covenant our freedom; (unleſs by the Antichriſtian yoke be meant epiſcopal government, which we hope no man that pretendeth to truth and charity will affirm:)
2. We do not yet ſee in the fruits of this aſſociation or Covenant among ourſelves any thing ſo lovely, as to invite us to deſire (much leſs to pray) that other Chriſtian Churches ſhould follow our example herein.
3. To pray to the purpoſe in the concluſion of the Covenant expreſſed, ſeemeth to us all one in effect as to beſeech Almighty God, the God of love and peace,
   1. To take all love and peace out of the hearts

hearts of Chriſtians, and to ſet the whole Chriſtian world in a combuſtion.

2. To render the reformed Religion, and all Proteſtants, odious to all the world.

3. To provoke the Princes of Europe to uſe more ſeverity towards thoſe of the reformed Religion; if not (for their own ſecurity) to root them quite out of their ſeveral dominions.

4. The tyranny and yoke of Antichriſt, if laid upon the necks of ſubjects by their lawful Sovereigns, is to be thrown off by *Chriſtian boldneſs* in confeſſing the truth, and *patient ſuffering* for it; not by taking up arms, or violent reſiſting of the higher powers.

§. 6.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING THE MEANING OF THE COVENANT.

OUR aforeſaid ſcruples are much ſtrengthened by theſe enſuing conſiderations.

Firſt, That whereas no oath, which is contradictory to itſelf, can be taken without perjury; becauſe the one part of every contradiction muſt needs be falſe: this Covenant either indeed containeth, or at leaſtwiſe (which

to the point of conſcience is not much effectual) ſeemeth to us to contain, ſi contradictions; as namely, amongſt o theſe.

1. To preſerve as it is, without change yet to reform and alter, and not to ſerve, *one and the ſame reformed Religi*
2. Abſolutely and without exception *t ſerve*; and yet upon ſuppoſition *to ext* the ſelf-ſame thing, *viz.* the preſent gion of the Church of Scotland.
3. To reform church-government eſtal ed in England and Ireland, *according Word of God*; and yet to extirpate government, which we are perſuad be according thereunto, for the intr ing of another, whereof we are n perſuaded.
4. To endeavour *really the extirpation o reſies, ſchiſms, and profaneneſs*; and withal to extirpate that government i Church, the want of the due ex whereof we conceive to have been chief cauſe of the growth of the ſaid e and do believe the reſtoring and con ance thereof would be the moſt p and effectual remedy.

5. *To preſerve with our eſtates and lives the liberties of the kingdom*; that is (as in the Proteſtation is explained) of the ſubject; and yet, contrary to theſe liberties, to ſubmit to the impoſition of this *Covenant*, and of the *Negative Oath*, not yet eſtabliſhed by law; and to put our lives and eſtates under the arbitrary power of ſuch as may take away both from us when they pleaſe, not only without, but even againſt law, *if they ſhall judge it convenient ſo to do.*

Secondly, We find in the Covenant ſundry expreſſions of dark or doubtful conſtruction, whereunto we cannot ſwear in judgment till their ſenſe be cleared and agreed upon. As, Who are the *common enemies?* and which be *the beſt reformed Churches?* mentioned in the firſt article. Who (in the fourth article) are to be accounted *Malignants?* How far that phraſe of *hindering reformation* may be extended? What is meant by *the ſupreme judicatory of both the kingdoms?* and ſundry other.

Thirdly, By the uſe that hath been made of this Covenant, (ſometimes to purpoſes of dangerous conſequence,) we are brought into ſome fears and jealouſies, leſt by taking the ſame we

ſhould caſt ourſelves into more ſnares than we are yet aware of. For in the firſt article,

1 Whereas we are *to endeavour the reformation of religion in this kingdom in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed Churches*:

1. The reformation in worſhip (whereby we could not ſuppoſe any more was intended, according to their former [a] Declaration, than a review of the Service-Book, that the tranſlations might be in ſome places amended, ſome alterations made in the Offices and Rubrics; or at moſt ſome of the ceremonies laid aſide for the reaſons of expediency and condeſcenſion) hath produced an utter abolition of the whole form eſtabliſhed; without ſubſtituting any other certain form in the room thereof.

2. The reformation in point of diſcipline

[a] "The Lords and Commons do declare, That they "intend a due and neceſſary reformation of the Liturgy "of the Church; and to take away nothing therein but "what ſhall be evil and juſtly offenſive, or at leaſt un-"neceſſary and burthenſome." Dec. 9 Apr. 1642. Exact. Col. p. 135.

and

and government intended (ſo far as by the overtures hitherto made we are able to judge) is ſuch, as we conceive not to be *according to the Word of God*, nor (for any thing we know) according to the example of any church that ever was in the world (beſt or worſt) ſince the creation.

2. In the ſecond article, our grief and fears had been leſs, if we could have obſerved *the extirpation of popery, hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs*, to have been as really intended, and ſet on with as much ſpeed and animoſity, as the extirpation of *prelacy*, and that which ſome call *ſuperſtition*. But when we ſee, under the notions of rooting out prelacy and ſuperſtition, ſo much quickneſs uſed to fetch in the revenues of the Church, and the ſacred utenſils, (no otherwiſe guilty of ſuperſtition, for ought we know, than that they are worth ſomething;) and on the other ſide, ſo little yet done toward the extirpation of hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs, as things of leſs temporal advantage; we cannot diſſemble our ſuſpicion, that the deſigners of this Covenant might have ſomething elſe before their eyes, beſides what in the begin-

ning of the introduction is expreſſed; and that there is ſomething meant in this article that looketh ſo like ſacrilege, that we are afraid to venture thereon.

3. In the third article,

1. Although we ſhould not otherwiſe have apprehended any matter of danger or moment in the ordering of the particulars in the article mentioned; yet ſince M. Challoner in his Speech, and others have made advantage thereof to infer from that very order, that the defence of the King's perſon and authority ought to be with ſubordination to the preſervation of the rights and privileges of Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdom, which are [b] *in the firſt place*, and before it, to be endeavoured; we hope we ſhall be excuſed, if we dare not take the Covenant in this ſenſe; eſpecially, conſidering that if the argument be of any force, it will bind us at leaſt as ſtrongly to endeavour the maintenance of *the King's perſon, honour, and*

[b] "From whence it is moſt evident, that the rights "and privileges of Parliaments, and liberties of the "kingdom, are in the firſt place to be preſerved." Anſwer to Scottiſh Papers, 18 Nov. 1646, p. 21.

eſtate

eſtate in the firſt place, and the reſt but ſubordinately thereunto, becauſe they are ſo ordered in the Proteſtation: and then, that Proteſtation having the advantage of preceding, it will bind us more ſtrongly, as being the firſt obligation.

2. Whereas ſome have been the rather induced to take the Covenant in this particular, by being told, that that limitation, *in the preſervation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms*, was not to be underſtood excluſively: yet when we find that the Houſe of Commons, in their anſwer to the Scottiſh papers, do [a] often preſs that limitation, as without which the endeavouring to preſerve the King's Majeſty's perſon and authority ought not to be mentioned; it cannot but deter us from taking the Covenant in this particular ſo underſtood.

3. Eſpecially being told in a late pamphlet, that the King, not having preſerved the

[a] "We obſerve you mention the defence of the King "twice from the Covenant, yet in both places leave out "*In the preſervation and, &c.* p. 39 and 46; a main "clauſe, without which the other part ought never to "be mentioned." p. 56.

liber-

liberties of the kingdom, &c. as of duty he ought, is thereby become a *tyrant*, and ſo ceaſeth to be a king, and conſequently that his ſubjects ceaſe to be ſubjects, and owe him no longer ſubjection. Which aſſertion ſince we heartily deteſt, as falſe and ſcandalous in the ſuppoſition, and in the inference ſeditious and deviliſh, we dare not, by ſubſcribing this article, ſeem to give the leaſt countenance thereunto.

4. But it ſtriketh us with horror to think what uſe hath been made of this fourth article, concerning the puniſhment of Malignants, &c. as by others otherways, ſo eſpecially by *the Corrector of a Speech without Doors*, written in the defence of M. Chaloner's Speech; who is ſo bold as to tell the Parliament, "That they are bound "by their Covenant (for the bringing of "evil inſtruments to condign puniſhment) "to deſtroy the King and his poſterity; "and that they cannot juſtify the taking "away of Strafford's and Canterbury's "lives for delinquency, whilſt they ſuffer "the chief delinquent to go unpuniſhed."

§. 7.

§. 7.

OF THE SALVO'S.

THE ſalvo's that we have uſually met withal, for the avoiding of the aforeſaid ſcruples, either concerning the whole Covenant, or ſome particulars therein of ſpecial importance, we find upon examination to be no way ſatisfactory to our conſciences.

The firſt is, that we may take the Covenant *in our own ſenſe:* but this (in a matter of this nature, viz. an impoſed promiſſory oath, in the performance whereof others alſo are preſumed to be concerned,) ſeemeth to be

1. Contrary *to the nature and end of an oath*; which, unleſs it be full of ſimplicity, cannot be ſworn in truth and righteouſneſs, nor ſerve to the ending of controverſies and contradictions, which was the uſe for which it was inſtituted, Heb. vi.
2. Contrary *to the end of ſpeech:* God having given us the uſe of ſpeech for this end, that it might be the interpreter of the mind, it behoveth us, as in all other our dealings and contracts, ſo eſpecially where there is the intervention of an oath, ſo to ſpeak, as that they whom it concerneth may

may clearly underſtand our meaning our words.

3. Contrary to *the end of the Covenant* it which being the confirmation of a union among the covenanters, that by ing thereof they might have mutual a ance of mutual aſſiſtance and defence one may be allowed to take it in ſenſe, and another in a contrary, the venanters ſhall have no more aſſuranc mutual aſſiſtance each from other the taking of the Covenant, than they before.

4. Contrary to the *ſolemn profeſſion* made each covenanter, (in expreſs terms in concluſion thereof,) *in the preſence of mighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts,* he taketh it *with a true intention to per the ſame, as he ſhall anſwer it at the g day.*

2. This will bring a ſcandal upon our r gion,

1. That we practiſe that ourſelves, wh we condemn in the Papiſt, viz. ſwear with Jeſuitical equivocations and men reſervations.

2. That we take the glorious and dread na

name of God in vain, and play faſt and looſe with oaths: inaſmuch as what we ſwear to-day in one ſenſe, we may ſwear the direct contrary to-morrow in another. And

3. It will give ſtrength to that charge which is laid to the Preſbyterian party in ſpecial, both [a] by Jeſuits and [b] Sectaries; that there is no faith to be given to Proteſtants, whatever they ſwear; becauſe they may ſwear one thing in their words, and in their own ſenſe mean another.

2. The ſecond way is, to take the Covenant with theſe or the like general ſalvo's expreſſed; viz. *So far as lawfully I may; So far as it is agreeable to the Word of God, and the laws of the land; Saving all oaths by me formerly taken, &c.* But

1. We believe this mocking of God would be ſo far from freeing us from the guilt

[a] "Hæretici nec Deo nec hominibus ſervant fidem— "Speciatim hoc addo, Calviniſtas in hac re deteriores "eſſe quam Lutheranos. Nam Calviniſtæ nullam ſervant "fidem: jura, perjura.—Lutherani moderatiores ſunt." Becan. 5. Manual. Controv. 14. n. 4 et 6.

[b] "Invent oaths and covenants for the kingdom, diſ- "penſe with them when he pleaſeth, ſwear and for- "ſwear as the wind turneth, like a godly Preſbyter." Arraign. of Perſec. in Epiſt. Ded.

of

of perjury, that thereby we ſhould rather contract a new guilt of moſt vile and abominable hypocriſy.

2. It ſeemeth all one unto us, (the thing being otherwiſe ſuppoſed unlawful,) as if we ſhould ſwear to kill, ſteal, commit adultery, or forſwear ourſelves, ſo far as lawfully we may.

3. If this would ſatisfy the conſcience, we might with a good conſcience not only take the preſent Covenant, but even ſubſcribe to the *Council of Trent* alſo, yea, and to the *Turkiſh Alcoran*; and ſwear to maintain and defend either of them, viz. ſo far as lawfully we may, or as they are agreeable to the Word of God.

Thirdly, for the ſecond article in particular, in the branch concerning the extirpation of church-government, we are told that it is to be underſtood of the whole government taken collectively, and in *ſenſu compoſito*, ſo as if we do endeavour but the taking away of *Apparitors* only, or of any other one kind of inferior officers belonging to the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, we ſhall have ſufficiently diſcharged our whole promiſe in that particular, without any prejudice done to Epiſcopacy. But

1. Nei-

1. Neither the compoſers of the Covenant by their words, nor the impoſers of it by their actions, have given us the leaſt ſignification that they meant no more.
2. Yea rather, if we may judge either by the cauſe or the effects, we may well think there was a meaning to extirpate the whole government, and every part thereof, in the article expreſſed. For
   1. The Covenant being (as we have no cauſe to doubt) framed at the inſtance of the Scots, and for the eaſier procuring of their aſſiſtance in the late war, was therefore in all reaſon ſo to be framed and underſtood as to give them ſatisfaction; and (conſidering what themſelves have [a] declared againſt Epiſcopacy,) we have little reaſon to believe the

[a] "By the Covenant, both Houſes of Parliament, and many thouſands of other his Majeſty's ſubjects of England and Ireland, ſtand bound, as well as we, to hinder the ſetting up of the church-government by Biſhops in the kingdom of Scotland: and that we, as well as they, ſtand bound to endeavour the extirpation thereof in England and Ireland." Scots' Declaration to the States of the United Provinces, 5 Aug. 45, recited in anſwer to the Scots' Papers, p. 23.

taking

taking away Apparitors, or any thing leſs than the rooting out of Epiſcopacy itſelf, would have ſatisfied them.

2. The proceedings alſo ſince the entering of this Covenant, in endeavouring *by ordinance of Parliament* to take away the name, power, and revenues of Biſhops, do ſadly give us to underſtand what was their meaning therein.

Fourthly, As to the ſcruples that ariſe from the ſovereignty of the King, and the duty of allegiance as ſubjects, we find two ſeveral ways of anſwering, but little ſatisfaction in either.

1. The former, by ſaying (which ſeemeth to us a piece of unreaſonable and ſtrange divinity) that *protection* and *ſubjection* ſtanding in relation either to other, the King being now diſabled to give us protection, we are thereby freed from our bond of ſubjection. Whereas

1. The ſubject's obligation (*jus ſubjectionis*) doth not ſpring from, nor relate unto, the actual exerciſe of kingly protection, but from and unto the Prince's obligation to protect (*jus protectionis*). Which obligation lying upon him as a duty which he is bound in conſcience

to

to perform, when it is in his power ſo to do; the relative obligation thereunto lieth upon us as a duty, which we are bound in conſcience to perform, when it is in our power ſo to do. His inability therefore to perform his duty doth not diſcharge us from the neceſſity of performing ours, ſo long as we are able to do it.

2. If the King ſhould not protect us, but neglect his part, though having power and ability to perform it, his voluntary neglect ought not to free us from the faithful performance of what is to be done on our part. How much leſs then ought we to think ourſelves diſobliged from our ſubjection, when the *non-protection* on his part is not from the want of will, but of power!

2. The latter, (wherein yet ſome have triumphed,) by ſaying, that the Parliament being the ſupreme judicatory of the kingdom, the King, *whereſoever in perſon*, is ever preſent *there in his power*, as in all other courts of juſtice; and that therefore whatſoever is done by them, is not done without the King, but by him. But crav-

ing pardon firſt, if in things without ou
proper ſphere we hap to ſpeak unproperl
or amiſs, we muſt next crave leave to b
ſtill of the ſame mind we were, till
ſhall be made evident to our underſtand
ings, that the King is there *in his powe*
as it is evident to our ſenſes, that he is n
there *in his perſon:* which, ſo far as ou
natural reaſon and ſmall experience wi
ſerve us to judge, all that hath been ſai
to that purpoſe can never do.

For, firſt, to the point of preſence:

1. We have been brought up in a belief
that for the making of laws the actu
royal aſſent[a] was ſimply neceſſary, and n

[a] The old forms of Acts of Parliament were, "
"eth, &c. by the aſſent of Parliament," &c. See
tutes till 1 Hen. IV. After that, "The King, of t
"ſent of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and
"ſpecial inſtance and requeſt of the Commons
"realm, hath ordained," &c. See Statutes 1 H
till 1 Hen. VII. A form of ſuch petition of th
mons, ſee 1 Ric. III. 6. "Prayen the Common
"preſent Parliament aſſembled, that where, &c
"it therefore your Highneſs, by the advice and
"the Lords ſpiritual and temporal in this yo
"Parliament aſſembled, and by the author
"ſame, to ordain," &c.

only a virtual aſſent ſuppoſed to be included in the votes of the two Houſes: otherwiſe, what uſe can be made of his negative voice? or what need to [a] *deſire his royal aſſent* to that which may be done as well without it?

2. The Statute [b] providing that *the King's aſſent to any Bill ſignified under his Great Seal* ſhall be to all intents of law as valid and effectual, as if he were perſonally preſent, doth clearly import, that, as to the effect of making a law, the King's power is not otherwiſe really preſent with the

"No Bill is an Act of Parliament, Ordinance, or Edict "of law, although both the Houſes agree unanimouſly "in it, till it hath the royal aſſent." Ancient Cuſtoms, p. 54.

"Aſſemblée de ceux troys eſtats eſt appellée un Act "de Parliament: car ſans touts troys n'eſt aucun Act "de Parl." Finch Nomotech. fol. 21.

"We admit that no Acts of Parliament are complete, "or formally binding, without the King's aſſent." H. P. Anſwer to David Jenkins, p. 6.

[a] "—which if your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to adorn "with your Majeſty's royal aſſent, (without which it "can neither be complete and perfect, nor—)," Stat. 1 Jac. I.

[b] Stat. 33 Hen. III. 21.

two Houſes, than it appeareth either i his perſon or under his ſeal: any othe *real preſence* is to us a riddle, not muc unlike to that of *Tranſubſtantiation*; a imaginary thing, rather deviſed to ſerv turns, than believed by thoſe that are con tent to make uſe of it.

3. Such preſence of the King there, whe it ſhall be made appear to us, either fro the writs whereby the members of bot Houſes are called together, or by th ſtanding laws of the land, or by the ac knowledged judgment and continued prac tice of former and later ages, or by an expreſs from the King himſelf, clearl declaring his mind to that purpoſe, w ſhall then, as becometh us, acknowledg the ſame, and willingly ſubmit thereunto.

And as for the argument drawn from th *analogy* of other courts, wherein the King' power is always ſuppoſed to be virtually pre ſent, under ſubmiſſion we conceive it is of n conſequence.

1. The arguments *a minore* and *a majore* ar ſubject to many fallacies; and, unle there be a parity of reaſon in every requi ſite reſpect between the things compared wil

will not hold good. A petty conſtable (they ſay) may do ſomething which a juſtice of peace cannot do: and the ſteward of a petty manor hath power to adminiſter an oath, which (as we are told) the Houſe of Commons itſelf hath no power to do.

2. That the High Court of Parliament is the ſupreme judicatory, we have been told it is by virtue of the King's right of preſiding there, he being the *ſupreme Judge*[a], and the members of both Houſes his council: which being ſo, the reaſon of difference is plain between that and other judicatories in ſundry reſpects.

1. The Judges in other courts are deputed by him, and do all in his name, and by his authority; and therefore the preſence of his power in thoſe courts of miniſterial juriſdiction is ſufficient, his perſonal preſence not neceſſary, neither hath he any

[a] "Dominus Rex habet ordinariam juriſdictionem, dignitatem, et poteſtatem ſuper omnes qui in regno ejus ſunt.——Ea quæ juriſdictionis ſunt et pacis——ad nullum pertinent niſi ad coronam et dignitatem regiam, nec a corona ſeparari poſſunt." Bracton, cited Stamford, lib. ii. cap. 2.

perſonal vote therein at all. E
High Court of Parliament, w
King himſelf is the ſupreme Jud
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thority, his power cannot be pr
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preſentation thereof ſignified
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2. The Judges in inferior courts
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fidelity for the right exerciſing
ture in their ſeveral places; ſitt
not by any proper intereſt of t
but only in right of the Kin
Judges they are, and therefore
called the King's Judges and his
But in the High Court of Parlia
Lords and Commons ſit there
with the King as ſupreme Judg
good of the whole realm; and
they are not called the King's Ju
the King's Council; and they
ſeveral proper rights and intereſt
and diſtinct both between themſ
from that of the King's; by reaſ

of they become *diſtinct orders* [a], or, as of late times they have been ſtyled, (in this ſenſe, we conceive,) *three diſtinct eſtates* [b]. Each of which being ſuppoſed to be the beſt conſervators of their own proper intereſt, if the power of any one eſtate ſhould be preſumed to be virtually preſent in the other two, that eſtate muſt needs be inevitably liable to ſuffer in the proper intereſts thereof; which might quickly prove deſtructive to the whole kingdom, the ſafety and proſperity of the whole conſiſting in the conſervation of the juſt rights and proper intereſts of the main parts, viz. the King, Lords, and Commons, inviolate and entire.

3. The Judges of other courts, foraſmuch as their power is but miniſterial, and merely judicial, are bounded by the pre-

[a] For in our laws, the Clergy, Nobility, and Comonalty are the three eſtates. "—We your ſaid moſt loving, faithful, and obedient ſubjects," (viz. the Lords iritual and temporal, and the Commons,) "repreſenting your three eſtates of your realm of England." Eliz. 3. "—the ſtate of the Clergy being one of the greateſt ſtates of this realm." 8 Eliz. 1.

[b] See Finch ſupra ad lit. d.

ſent laws, and limited alſo by their own acts; ſo as they may neither ſwerve from the laws in giving judgment, nor reverſe their own judgments after they are given. But the High Court of Parliament, having (by reaſon of the King's ſupreme power preſiding therein) a power legiſlative as well as judicial, are not ſo limited by any earthly power, but that they may change and over-rule the laws and their own acts at their pleaſure. The King's perſonal aſſent therefore is not needful in thoſe other courts, which are bounded by thoſe laws whereunto the King hath already given his perſonal aſſent; but unto any act of power beſide, beyond, above, or againſt the laws already eſtabliſhed, we have been informed, and it ſeems to us very agreeable to reaſon, that the King's perſonal aſſent ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary: foraſmuch as every ſuch act is the exerciſe of a legiſlative rather than of a judicial power; and no act of legiſlative power in any community (by conſent of all nations) can be valid, unleſs it be confirmed by ſuch perſon or perſons as the ſovereignty of that community reſideth in.

Which

Which ſovereignty, with us, ſo undoubtedly reſideth in the perſon of the King, that his ordinary ſtyle runneth, *Our Sovereign Lord the King*[a]: and he is in the Oath of Supremacy expreſsly acknowledged to be *the only ſupreme Governor within his realms*. And we leave it to the wiſdom of others, to conſider what miſery and miſchief might come to the kingdom, if the power of any of theſe *three eſtates* ſhould be ſwallowed up by any one, or both the other, and if then, under the name of a judicial, there ſhould be yet really exerciſed a legiſlative power.

4. Since all judicial power is radically and originally in the King, (who is for that cauſe ſtyled by the laws *the fountain of*

[a] "The Crown of England hath been ſo free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly ſubjection, but immediately to God in all things touching the regality of the ſaid Crown—." 16 Ric. II. 5. "Omnis ſub eo eſt, et ipſe ſub nullo, niſi tantum ſub Deo. Parem autem non habet Rex in regno ſuo, quia——Item nec multo fortius ſuperiorem aut potentiorem habere debet, quia ſic eſſet inferior ſuis ſubjectis." Bracton. nten. 1. rubr. 36. "—Cui *αὐτονομοτατικὴν* legibus ipſis legum vim imponendi poteſtatem Deus dedit." nch Nomotech. in Epiſt. Dedic. to King James.

juſ-

juſtice [a],) and not in any other perſon or perſons, but by derivation from him; it ſeemeth to us evident, that neither the Judges of inferior courts of miniſteria juſtice, nor the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the High Court of Parliament, may of right exerciſe any other power over the ſubjects of this realm, than ſuch as by their reſpective patents and writs iſſued from the King, or by the known eſtabliſhed laws of the land, formerly aſſented unto by the Kings of this realm, doth appear to have been from him derived unto them. Which laws, patents and writs, being the exact boundary of their ſeveral powers, it hath not yet been made appear to our underſtandings, either from the laws of the realm, or from the tenor of thoſe writs by which the Parlia-

[a] "Fons juſtitiæ." Bracton. "By war to intend the "alteration of the laws in any part of them, is to levy "war againſt the King, and conſequently treaſon by the "Statute of 25 Ed. III.—becauſe they are the King's "laws. He is the fountain from whence, in their ſe"veral channels, they are derived to the ſubject." Mat ter Saint-John's Speech concerning the Earl of Strafford, p. 12.

men

ment is called, that the two Houſes of Parliament have any power, without the King, to *order, command, or tranſact*; but with him to *treat, conſult, and adviſe*[a] concerning the great affairs of the kingdom. In which reſpect they have ſundry times, in their Declarations to his Majeſty, called themſelves by the name of his *Great Council*. And thoſe laws and writs are, as we conceive, the proper topic, from which the juſt power of the honourable Houſes can be convincingly deduced; and not ſuch frail collections, as the wits of men may raiſe from ſeeming analogies and proportions.

§. 8.

OF THE NEGATIVE OATH.

WE are not ſatisfied how we can ſubmit to the taking of the *Negative Oath*,

1. Without forfeiture of that *liberty*, which we have ſworn and are bound to preſerve. With which liberty we conceive it to be inconſiſtent, that any obligation ſhould be

[a] "—Et ibidem vobiſcum colloquium habere, tractare—ſuper dictis negotiis, tract. veſtrumque conſilium impenſur.—" Writ to the Lords.

laid

laid upon the ſubject by an oath not eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament.

2. Without abjuring our *natural allegiance*[a], and violating the *oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance* by us formerly taken. By all which being bound to our power to *aſſiſt the King*, we are by this *Negative Oath* required to ſwear, from our heart, *not to aſſiſt him.*

3. Without *diminution of his Majeſty's juſt power and greatneſs*, contrary to the third article of the Covenant, by acknowledging a power in the two Houſes of Parliament, in oppoſition to the King's power. Whereas we profeſs ourſelves unable to underſtand, how there can be any lawful power exerciſed within this realm, which is not ſubordinate to the power of the King.

§. 9.

OF THE ORDINANCES CONCERNING THE DISCIPLINE AND DIRECTORY.

FIRST, concerning them all together; we are

[a] "Every ſubject by the duty of his allegiance is "bounden to ſerve and aſſiſt his Prince and Sovereign "Lord at all ſeaſons, when need ſhall require." 11 Hen. VII. 18.

not

ıt ſatisfied how we can ſubmit to ſuch Ordinances of the two Houſes of Parliament, not ıving the *royal aſſent*,

1. As are contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of this realm, contained in ſuch Acts of Parliament as were made by the joint conſent of King, Lords, and Commons.
2. Nor ſo only, but alſo pretend by repeal to abrogate ſuch Act or Acts. For, ſince *ejuſdem eſt poteſtatis deſtruere, cujus eſt conſtituere*, it will not ſink with us, that a leſſer power can have a juſt right to cancel and annul the act of a greater.
3. Eſpecially the [a] whole power of ordering all matters eccleſiaſtical being by the laws, in expreſs words, *for ever annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm*. And upon what head that Crown ought to ſtand, none can be ignorant.

2. As to the particular Ordinances; thoſe at concern *the Diſcipline* firſt:

1. If under that title be comprehended the *government* alſo, we cannot ſubmit thereunto, without conſenting to the eradication of a government of reverend antiquity in the Church: which (notwithſtanding

[a] Stat. 1 Eliz. 1.

the ſeveral changes of religion within this realm) hath yet from time to time been continued and confirmed by the public laws and great charters of the kingdom: than which there cannot be a more ample teſtimony, that it was ever held agreeable to the civil government and the ſubject's liberty: which alſo the ſucceſſive Kings of this realm at their ſeveral coronations have ſolemnly ſworn to preſerve; and the continuance whereof, for ſundry reaſons before (upon the ſecond article of the Covenant) ſpecified, we heartily wiſh and deſire.

2. But if the word *Diſcipline* be taken (as it is in the firſt article of the Covenant) as *contradiſtinguiſhed unto the government*, there is ſomething even in that alſo, wherein we are not fully ſatisfied; viz. the leaving of ſo much power in ſo many perſons, and thoſe, many of them, of mean quality, for the keeping back of thouſands of well-meaning Chriſtians from the benefit and comfort of the bleſſed Sacrament: an auſterity, for which there appeareth not to us any probable warrant from the Word of God, but which ſeemeth rather repug-

nant, as to the general principles of Chriſtian prudence and charity, ſo to the directions and practice of St. Paul [a] in particular; who in a Church abounding with ſundry errors and corruptions both in faith and manners, (having firſt given order for the excommunicating of one only perſon, that by ſhameleſs continuance in a notorious ſin had brought a foul ſcandal upon the Goſpel,) ſufficing himſelf then with a general propoſal of the great danger of *unworthy communicating*, remitteth every other particular perſon to a *ſelf-examination* [b], without any order either to Miniſters or Lay-Elders to exclude any from the holy Communion upon their examination.

3. As to the Ordinance concerning the *Directory* in particular; we cannot, without regret of conſcience, (during our preſent judgment, and the continuance of the preſent laws,) conſent to the taking away of *the Book of Common Prayer*,

1. Which by our ſubſcriptions moſt of us have approved, with a ſolemn promiſe

[a] 1 Cor. v. 1, &c. [b] 1 Cor. xi. 28, &c.

there-

therewithal, in the public ſervice to uſe the form preſcribed therein, and no other.

2. Which, according to our ſaid ſubſcription and promiſe, and our bounden duty according to the Statute[a] in that caſe provided, we have hitherto uſed in our churches, chapels, and other oratories, to the great benefit and comfort of our ſouls.

3. Which we verily believe not to contain any thing, which (with ſuch favourable conſtruction as of right ought to be allowed to all manner of writings) is not juſtly defenſible; which hath not been by learned and godly men ſufficiently maintained againſt ſuch exceptions as have been heretofore taken thereat; and which we are confident (by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God) we ſhall be able to juſtify, as occaſion ſhall be offered, againſt all Papiſts, and other oppugners or depravers thereof whatſoever.

4. Which is eſtabliſhed by an *Act of Parliament*, made, in peaceable times, by as good and full authority as any under heaven can have over us; which doth ſo weigh with us, that as it freeth us from

[a] 1 Eliz.

the

the neceſſity of giving in any particular exceptions againſt the Directory, or any thing therein contained; ſo it layeth an inevitable neceſſity upon us of continuing the form of Prayer therein enjoined, and of not admitting any Directory, or other form, to the prejudice thereof, till the ſaid Act ſhall, by the like good and full authority, be repealed.

In which Statute there is not only an *expreſs command* given to all Miniſters for the uſing of the ſame, but there are alſo *ſanctions of ſevere puniſhments* to be inflicted upon ſuch of them as ſhall refuſe ſo to do; or ſhall preach, declare, or ſpeak any thing to the derogation or depraving of the Book of Common Prayer, or of any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof; with puniſhments alſo to be inflicted upon every other perſon whatſoever, (*the Lords of the Parliament* not excepted,) that ſhall in like manner declare or ſpeak againſt the ſaid Book; or ſhall by deed or threatening compel, or otherwiſe procure or maintain, any Miniſter to ſay open Prayer, or to miniſter any Sacrament in any other manner or form than is mentioned in the ſaid Book; or ſhall interrupt or hinder any Miniſter in the uſe of the ſaid forms, as by the

words of the ſaid Statute more at large may appear.

Which Statute alſo hath had ſuch univerſal powerful influence into the ſucceeding times, that in all ſuch Statutes [a] as have been ſince made againſt Popiſh Recuſants, the refuſing to *be preſent at Common Prayer, or to receive the Sacrament according to the forms and rites* mentioned in that Book, is expreſſed as the moſt proper legal character, whereby to diſtinguiſh a *Popiſh Recuſant* from a true Proteſtant. Inſomuch that uſe hath been made of that very character in ſundry Acts, ſince the beginning of this preſent Parliament, for the taxing of double payments upon Recuſants.

Thus have we clearly and freely repreſented our preſent judgment concerning the ſaid Covenant, Negative Oath, and Ordinances; which, upon better information in any particular, we ſhall be ready to rectify. Only we deſire it may be conſidered, that if any one ſingle ſcruple or reaſon in any the premiſes remain unſatisfied, (though we ſhould receive full ſatiſ-

[a] Stat. 23 Eliz. 1; and 29 Eliz. 6; and 35 Eliz. 1 and 2; and 3 Jac. 4 and 5.

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